itizens Made and Remade

WILLIAM R. GEORGE and
LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

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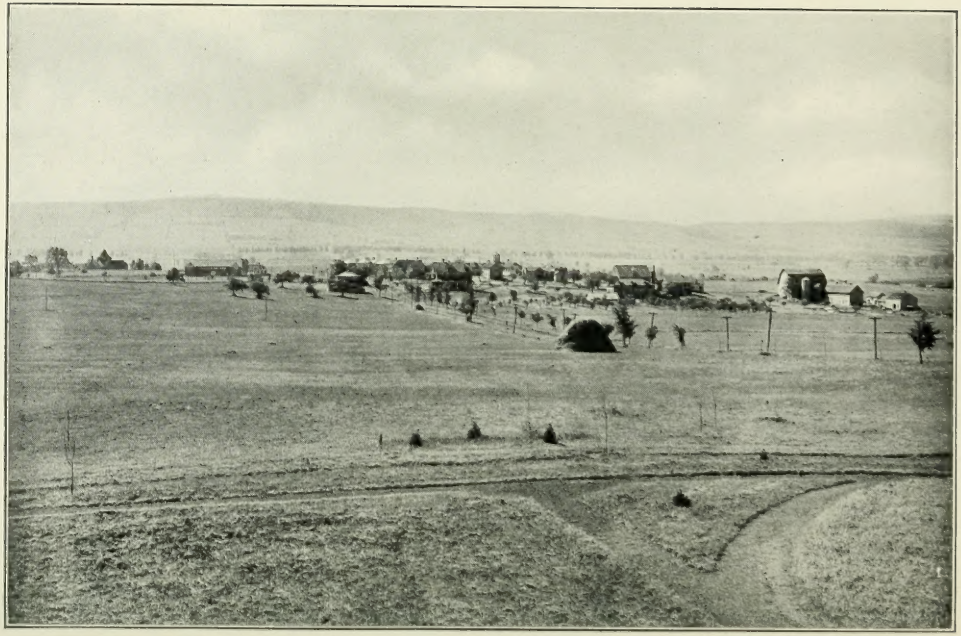

VIEW OF REPUBLIC

(Taken from third story of Republic Inn by Lehigh Valley official photographer)

Citizens Made and Remade

An Interpretation of the Significance and Influence of George Junior Republics

BY
WILLIAM R. GEORGE
AND
LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICE
University of Toronto

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Published October 1912

PREFACE

In the preparation of this book Mr. George has for the most part provided the data and the ideas while I have furnished the method and style of their presentation. As every one knows, Mr. George was the originator of the Junior Republic idea and the founder of the original Republic at Freeville, New York. He is now doing a nation-wide work as National Director of the National Association of Junior Republics, which is undertaking to correlate the work of the existing and widely separated Republics and which aims to establish at least one such community in every State in the Union. A similar community has been established in England which will be more or less closely affiliated with the American work.

Not long after the founding of the Republic at Freeville, a number of educational leaders awoke to the fact that the principles of self-government successfully used there both could and should be applied to schools in general and to public schools in

particular. It was through this latter group that I became interested and later an active participant in the self-government movement as Secretary of the School Citizens' Committee. The object of this organization is to advocate pupil self-government, or pupil participation in the government, as an essential of practical training for citizenship in schools and institutions; in short, wherever boys and girls are gathered together either for instruction or reformation. In that portion of the book treating self-government in schools and institutions the data are mine.

As Secretary of the National Association of Junior Republics I have come into intimate association with Mr. George and his work, and hence was invited by him to collaborate in the preparation of this book. Mr. George originated exclusively the new penal method with which the book concludes. I wish to state that almost every word of this book was written by me and that Mr. George's only share in those portions which present him personally in a favorable light was to protest against their inclusion.

The book does not seek to be a history or even an adequate account of Junior Republics[1] or of School Republics, or of the self-government movement in general, but rather an interpretation of the real meaning and significance of all such training, with an outline of a practical method by which principles, already proved notably successful in the reformation of boys and girls, may be applied to law-breaking adults.

It is our conviction that through the application of these principles, and thus only, can a citizenship be trained for the future such as will adequately preserve and develop the highest ideals of our nation. We shall feel amply repaid for our effort if, in any degree, we succeed in transmitting to others this conviction.

LYMAN BEECHER STOWE.

NEW YORK CITY
June 28, 1912

[1] Mr. George has already written the history of the Junior Republic in his book entitled *The Junior Republic*, published by D. Appleton and Company.

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Citizens Made and Remade

CHAPTER I

MR. GEORGE STUDIES THE STREET BOY AT CLOSE RANGE

By Lyman Beecher Stowe[1]

While never a conventional man, William R. George started his career with a conventional assortment of stock conceptions regarding society and social relations in general. Like most men he accepted the current ideas on such subjects at their face value. But unlike most men he then proceeded to test their value by practical experiments.

He believed that society was divided into three more or less distinct classes. The lower, made up of the shiftless and the depraved; the middle, composed of the plain and decent people; and the upper

[1] Because of necessity it deals so largely with him personally, Mr. George preferred to have no share either in the preparation of or the responsibility for this chapter. L. B. S.

class, represented by the well-to-do and the well-born. He did not believe that these class barriers were impassable except that a person born in the upper class, whatever his personal worthlessness, could never quite sink to the lowest class. On the other hand, he did believe that a person born in the lowest class might, with brains and money, rise into the highest. With all his heart he believed that every normal boy, no matter how sordid the conditions into which he was born, had in him latent possibilities which if properly fostered could and would place him in the highest and most honorable social ranks. This optimistic conviction of the dominance of environment over heredity, which was the one point where his beliefs differed materially from those commonly held, has formed the working hypothesis of all his social activities. He believed the lawbreaker ought to be punished; reformed if possible, but never at the expense of merited punishment. Just who the lawbreaker was he did not stop to analyze. Generally speaking, he was the man who was caught. He was, at any rate, except in the cases of the

uncaught lawbreakers of which he had personal knowledge.

At an early age Mr. George went into business for himself as a maker of jewelry cases. As time went on his interest in the making of jewelry cases grew less and less, while his interest in the making of men grew greater and greater. However unfortunate this may have been for the jewelry cases and for Mr. George's bank account, it was emphatically fortunate for the street boys of New York. Mr. George was at this time living with his parents in an apartment on the upper East Side of Manhattan. Here he and his mother, through an apparently incredible feat of concentration, succeeded in making a home for three or four homeless boys whom he had picked up in the course of his constant knight-errant tours into the uttermost penetralia of the worst slum districts. He felt these boys should in the interest of their own self-respect make, at least, some contribution to their own support. In casting about for a clean and useful occupation for these young lads, Mr. George bethought him of his former farmer neighbors "up-State" (he and his

parents had moved from a farm to the city only a few years before), with their abundance of butter and eggs and the difficulty of selling them, and his present city neighbors with their scarcity of these articles and the difficulty of buying them. Here was a chance for his boys to do a real service and at the same time make some money. Accordingly he worked out a plan by which his former neighbors in the country sent down butter and eggs which were sold at a reasonable advance to his city neighbors. The boys did the selling and made the difference between the purchase and the selling price. Mr. George had slips printed stating that these boys were his authorized representatives, that he, himself, derived no pecuniary gain from their activities, and requesting his acquaintances to give them their patronage. At this time Mr. George was a member of a local committee of the Charity Organization Society of the city. When one of the slips referred to came into the possession of the society, he was called to the head office and told that his methods were decidedly irregular. In order to avoid the

suspicion that some of the money collected by his boy agents was finding its way into his own pocket he should organize a society with a board of trustees who should see that the accounts were properly kept and audited. This Mr. George indignantly refused to do. He was a free lance and did not propose to be bossed by any trustees. Thereupon, Organized Charity catalogued him as personally honest, but irregular in his methods, and hence not fully to be trusted. He was requested to resign from the local committee of the society and complied with great alacrity. This may sound like a reflection upon the methods and intelligence of organized charity. It is not so intended. The society was not dealing with the well-known founder and leader of the Junior Republic movement, but with a young and unknown person by the name of W. R. George. From their point of view there was no reason why he should be trusted any further than any other young man. There were doubtless many presentable young men in the town who would have been ready enough to pick up an in-

come under the guise of charity. On the other hand, Mr. George was absolutely right in his refusal to be saddled with a board of trustees. He was scouting far ahead of even the vanguard of organized society and he could not take a board of trustees with him any more than an army scout could take a mule train with him.

Some years later his first experience with a board of trustees amply justified this instinctive protest against the limitations of organization. All this was in the early nineties.

Mr. George's next move was to go into one of the toughest districts of the lower East Side of Manhattan and there gradually transform the dominant street-boy gang into what he called a law-and-order gang. This he did in this way. A loft in a ramshackle old building was hired by a friend and fitted up roughly as a clubroom. He made friends with some of the leading young toughs of the neighborhood and gradually took them into his confidence and induced them to "hang out" at the clubroom instead of the street corners. This neighborhood was dominated and

terrorized over by a notorious gang known as the "Graveyard Gang." The inner circle of this gang called themselves the "Sons of Arrest." No one was eligible to the distinction of membership in this inner circle until he had been arrested, and he who had the greatest number of arrests to his credit was the leader of the Sons of Arrest and of the whole gang. This gang warred upon the neighborhood and the police. The peaceful citizens were of course their victims. In his first coming to the district — when he was reconnoitring with a view to starting his club — Mr. George had been set upon by the Graveyard Gang and stood them off single-handed until the police came to his rescue. The stout resistance which he put up in this encounter became a tradition of the locality and doubtless helped him in his later peaceful subjugation of this gang. Boxing became one of the leading attractions of this club and Mr. George the leading boxer. He had become an expert in the art while drill sergeant of Company ——. It had been his original ambition to go into the regular army, but the rank of sergeant of militia was as far

as he went in a military career. That was far enough to give him a standing with boys which no mere civilian achievements could have won for him. Gradually his reputation as a boxer spread through the neighborhood. His converts and admirers boasted that no one could beat him. Some scoffers at this new hero with his subverting law-and-order notions plotted to accomplish his downfall by seeking out some fellow who could lick him and then arranging a match between them. Finally they found their man — a great husky brute who had never been beaten and who had aspirations for the prize ring. Mr. George accepted the challenge with full knowledge of the conspiracy which lay back of it. It was arranged that the fight take place behind closed doors, without witnesses, in a back room of the club.

At the appointed time the combatants put on the gloves, went into the room, closed and locked the door behind them, while the excited followers of each gathered around the keyhole. It had been agreed that they fight until one or the other asked for quarter. For many minutes the eager

auditors were fascinated by the sounds of violent scuffling and quick heavy breathing punctuated by the exhilarating thuds of well-landed blows. After what seemed a very long time to the expectant group around the keyhole, the door reopened and the contestants came slowly out — panting, disheveled, and perspiring. In response to the simultaneous shout, "Who won?" Mr. George replied, "Ask him!" His opponent said nothing. Immediately came the outburst, "Then, youse git back in there an' fight it out!" To this Mr. George assented with a nod, but his opponent flung out, "Any of youse as wants ter ken have me gloves. I've had mine an' I ain't a-goin' back!!" That settled it. Mr. George became and remained undisputed champion of the neighborhood. All this was when he was in his twenties.

After this things went more easily for him. He was now the recognized leader of the new gang. His word was law. He appointed his staff and organized his gang in a more or less informal military manner. He and his staff of young toughs offered their services to the police sergeant, who

was acting captain in command of the precinct, to help suppress lawlessness. The sergeant, now Captain Wigand, saw the point and at once accepted the offer. He not only made an informal alliance with Mr. George and his gang, but he secured Mr. George's appointment as a special police officer so that he might add official authority to his moral and physical supremacy. At this time it was Mr. George's plan and ambition to continue his work along these lines until every gang of every neighborhood in New York had been in like manner transformed from a law-defying into a law-enforcing group. He, as commander-in-chief, was to advance from district to district, leaving his trusted lieutenants in command of the conquered locality, and taking with him each time a picked company of faithful followers to help capture the new territory. Owing to the unexpected turn of events which led him into his present work, he never followed this plan beyond its initial stage.

One day after his appointment as a special policeman, Mr. George sallied forth with the idea of doing a little real police

work if opportunity offered. Before long he came upon a group of boys "shooting craps." Now, this was not only against the law, but, as he knew from experience, very evil in its effects. He said to himself, "I hate to humiliate these boys by arrest, but there's nothing else to do." So saying, he wedged his way into the crowd, saw one boy place the money, throw the dice with the attendant snap of the fingers, and then gather up some coin. This was sufficient evidence. He reached over and grabbed the offender by the collar. With the familiar cry, "Cheese it, the cop!" the crowd scampered in every direction. The young prisoner straightened up with a glance curiously akin to triumph in his eyes and inquired pleasantly, "Are youse a flatty?" (meaning a detective). Mr. George assented. "Den show your tin," he demanded, and Mr. George complied by displaying his new police badge. "Dat settles it. I'll go wid yer," exclaimed the young prisoner with an air of bravado. "Hey, Jimmie is pinched again!" yelled the boys, flocking round, and casting admiring glances at Jimmie. From that point

to the station house it was a triumphal procession for Jimmie. A smile of satisfaction came into Jimmie's face as they passed a group of girls about the young culprit's age who exclaimed sympathetically, "Aw, poor Jimmie!"

The next morning when Jimmie came before the bar of justice his captor put in a good word for him with the judge, which resulted in his being released on a kind of probation. Thereafter Mr. George saw him almost daily and the two became very good friends. Jimmie was now promoted to be leader of his gang, and Mr. George found that by arresting him he had been the unconscious agent of his elevation to that position. He had needed but one more arrest to achieve this distinction and his new friend had given it to him.

One day some weeks later, Mr. George found Jimmie in a state of deep dejection. "Aw, it's all off," said he sadly. "I can't be de leader no more. Mickie has just got back from de 'ref.' an' jest being pinched ain't in it wid doin' time. I wish now de jedge had give me a bit in de 'ref.' 'stead a lettin' me off, 'cause den I'd had a show,

but it ain't no use now." Sure enough, Jimmie had to step down and triumphant Mickie took his place. But Jimmie lived to glory in quite other achievements than being arrested.

Captain Wigand has often said that this law-and-order gang was of no little aid to him in policing his turbulent precinct. Beside many minor renovations they cleaned out absolutely both "craps" and "policy." They organized into two squads — one known as the "craps" squad and the other as the "policy" squad. When the lookouts of the "craps" squad sighted a game going on in a given street, the squad divided into two bands and circled the block so as to close in upon the "crap-shooters" from both directions. As these young law-enforcers were of course without police badges and frequently as young or younger than the offenders, the "crap-shooters" naturally and frequently resisted arrest, and many pitched battles resulted which slaked the thirst for combat of these new recruits to the ranks of law and order.

The "policy" squad was equally systematic and relentless in its campaign. They

had, of course, more often to deal with adults, as the keepers of "policy shops" were almost always grown men or women. This squad did not do the actual arresting, but merely gathered information and evidence upon which the police acted. "Policy," the meanest cheat that ever masqueraded as a game of chance, was sucking the lifeblood of the poor of the district. There were at times as many as forty "policy shops" in a single block. They shifted in such a kaleidoscopic fashion from one back room to another that it was impossible for the police to keep track of them. Unlike the more honestly conducted gambling games, "policy" is played chiefly by the poorest of the poor. To the nearest "policy shop" go desperate men and women in efforts to ward off starvation by risking their last dime. If they win, and their chances are at best not better than one in one hundred and at worst almost none at all, they make a dollar for every cent they play. Playing a "gig" with a last coin is frequently the final effort in a squalid struggle for existence. Spotting "policy shops" and the gathering of evidence

against them was in itself a most fascinating game for the boys; and when such shops were "pulled" by the police, that formed the spectacular climax of the melodrama in which they had been chief actors. Finally the "policy" squad had secured the closing of every shop in the district except one conducted by an old woman of eighty, a paralytic and almost blind, whose young nephew did the writing for her. Against her they secured all necessary evidence, but they would not have her place "pulled" because of her sex, age, and infirmities. Instead, they threatened her, showed her that they had her in their power, and agreed to withhold from the police the evidence against her if she would promise "to cut it out." She made the promise and they saw to it that she kept it. All this the boys did, not because it was right, but because it was sport and because their leader wanted it done. Fortunately right acts do not become wrong merely because they are done for the love of excitement. Had the policy gamblers been wise enough to form an alliance with these same boys before Mr. George and the police secured

their allegiance, they would doubtless have served their interests with equal loyalty and exhilaration.

Before their new leader came among them with his new ideas, these youths had looked upon the police and others in authority as natural enemies to be resisted and fought at every step. Their loyalty was intense and primal. They were loyal to their gang and to their leader. It was the tribal loyalty of men in primitive society. Their previous leaders had always led them against the traditional enemy — the police and others in authority. They had followed loyally. This new kind of leader saw fit to enter into an alliance with the traditional enemy and declare war upon the lawbreakers. As before, they followed loyally. Although there was no booty to be had in this kind of warfare it had its distinct advantages. It was much more secure and comfortable while just as exciting, and it brought withal the novel and agreeable sensation of raising them to a position of unprecedented popularity in the neighborhood — that is, with its law-abiding members, and they were naturally

the large majority. Their leader was their everyday hero. He must have the elemental virtues: physical courage, skill, energy, native qualities of leadership. He had always had these qualities and their new leader was no exception. Their former leaders had used these qualities against the law-abiding and the law-enforcers. This new leader used them against the law-breakers. There lay the difference. Now, the new leader held strange doctrines — doctrines which the gang would have flouted as heresies had they been uttered by any less authoritative person. He actually believed that schools, churches, and homes were institutions to be encouraged instead of spurned. He thought that it was brave and manly to obey the law yourself and to do what you could to make others obey; that it was cowardly and weak to break the law and to encourage others to break it. He believed that it was a fine thing to work and take pride in your work instead of holding it in scorn as tame and prosaic. And, strangest of all, he seemed to think that each one of them was useful and necessary to the community,

and that other people needed their help, instead of assuming that people in general looked upon them as useless incumbrances to be tolerated at best and hustled off to jail at worst. There must be something in these strange notions or he would not believe them. Gradually and tentatively they accepted them; at first merely on trial; but finally and quite unconsciously they sank in and became part of their mental and moral make-up. There was no preaching or proselyting on Mr. George's part, still less any consciousness of conversion or reformation on their part. Their mental and moral world was merely turned — very gradually — right side up. They had the same tastes, feelings, desires, loyalties, and aversions only turned into different channels, into right channels. They had been socialized and incidentally moralized, but the moral change had been unconscious and hence stood a better chance of permanence. They had as little sense of being good after this gradual metamorphosis as they had of being bad before it.

When not long since an ex-member of the Sons of Arrest, who is now an indus-

trious mechanic supporting his crippled mother, was asked, "Where would you probably be to-day if Mr. George had not come into your life?" he promptly replied, "Dead or in prison." That he would very likely have been in prison will surprise no one, but why dead? It appears the span of life of street-gang members who are not arrested for long terms, or who do not change their manner of life, lies between thirty and thirty-five years. Very few reach forty. Before that the great majority have either drunk themselves to death, been killed in a fight, or fallen sick and died through the effects of alternate periods of semi-starvation and gormandizing. This early mortality among toughs throws light upon the seemingly amazing crimes statistics which show that about two thirds of the crimes committed in the United States in the course of a year are done by youths under twenty-four. On the evidence of this same young mechanic, of the fifty or more boys who became members of Mr. George's Law-and-Order Gang, but two have been backsliders. One of these was never really influenced. He

merely used the club for its gymnasium and other advantages without taking any part in its deeds or its spirit. The other became an express driver, took to drink as a reaction against the exposure of his occupation, and went down under it.

Boys organize instinctively: into gangs in the city and into bands in the country. In all communities, but more particularly in the large cities, the evolution of the gang from petty to serious lawbreaking is both rapid and natural. It is but a short step from sympathetic predatory forays, on occasions of public excitement such as Fourths of July and election nights, to serious thefts and the setting of fires for the sake of the ensuing excitement. Baskets of peaches and other luring wares are so temptingly displayed and so readily "swiped" that the venders themselves seem to the fleet marauders to invite trouble. And all such exploits bring the youth of criminal predilections into constantly closer and closer touch with his kind and remove him further and further from the law-abiding. If in the neighborhood there lives a youth who supports his

widowed mother by working early and late, or one who goes to a Sunday school, he is the target for oaths and vile names whenever he passes and he is lucky to escape with merely these indignities. He is not even safe from the possibility of being held up unless he is fortunate enough to have a build which suggests too much danger. The trend downward toward crime soon becomes so marked that decency even as a matter of policy is tabooed. The youths are now out of the public schools, and instead of school-books their literature is the yellow journals and the worst of the cheap novels. From petty offenses such as the "swiping" of fruit and the relieving of drunken men of their small change, they advance to systematic pocket-picking and thence to hold-ups and burglaries. And with each advance come fresh honors from the gang. Up to the age of sixteen or thereabouts the drink habit is not, as one would naturally suppose, prevalent. It generally begins about this time with an occasional glass of painfully low-grade beer and is known as "rushing the growler." Cigarettes, however, have generally raised havoc

with the physique of the gang member long before this age.

Where do the recruits for the street gang come from? It is generally assumed that they are almost exclusively the orphans and the homeless. Many of them are, but not nearly as many as is generally supposed. Many, perhaps most, of them have homes, and, uncharitable as it may sound, these are an important contributory cause if not the chief reason for their criminal activities. In fact, one of the main causes of their depravity is that they have places called homes where they can secure food and shelter, such as it is, for nothing. There is a difference between a home and a place called a home.

By the time the gang has blossomed into full-fledged criminality the youths are quite old enough for work, but they won't work. There is no excitement in going to work, and besides it is very unpopular with "the bunch." One may frequently hear street gangs ridiculing a backsliding member for having done honest work, just as other boys ridicule a fellow for going to church or Sunday school. Most of them,

however, do from time to time make half-hearted efforts to go to work. But as they are at an age where they regard themselves as too light for heavy work and too heavy for light work, they generally relapse into idleness after a very brief effort; that is, those who have places called homes upon which they may fall back so relapse. The homeless are much more apt to persevere. They have no place which stands between them and the grim alternative — work or starve. It is true the father may get disgusted and turn the boy into the street, but he generally relents by nightfall. If he does not, the mother will surreptitiously furnish food and shelter. It might conceivably be better for the boy at this age if he had no home to fall back upon.

While homeless boys swear like horse-thieves, smoke cigarettes, shoot craps, and commit other offenses, the very responsibility that rests upon them of gaining the necessities of life gives them (boys such as the bootblack and newsboy) a kind of self-respect not found among street toughs to whom self-support is not a necessity. It would undoubtedly be a great surprise to

laymen, and even to those who have had some experience with lawless boys, to learn what a large percentage of those in reform schools have parents living with whom they nominally reside. It is a totally false impression that the reform schools are principally filled by orphans and the homeless.

A few months of full-fledged gang life is sufficient to place any group of youth beyond the pale of law-abiding society — even that portion of society whose allegiance to law is for politic and selfish motives merely. Being law-abiding even for the sake of policy is abhorrent to the gang because its heroes win their place by defiance of the law. In theory these youths still believe that they ought not to live a lawless existence, but this belief they look upon as a mawkish sentiment to be stifled as far as possible. There are a few exceptional situations in which the heretofore lawless individual will do the right without being actuated by considerations of policy. Some of these are worthy of mention because they might appear in a society where there was little or no property to influence human actions. An appeal to arms comes.

These selfsame lawbreakers will fight like demons for their country. Enrollment in the police force has also been known to work apparent miracles. A former gang member will under this transforming influence be even more relentless in haling his erstwhile "pals" to the courts than some of his brother officers who have from childhood up been disciples of law and order. Opportunities for heroism and responsibility are, of course, the chief factors underlying these transformations. The sudden necessity for self-support or the support of others through the death of a parent will sometimes work much the same change. If the gang tough falls in love, the thought of the necessity of providing for the object of his love will often effect a similar change. He will become half-hearted in the adventures of the gang and will appear in the eyes of his companions to be more and more "queer," until on his marriage he drifts away from them altogether and goes over to the enemy — the army of the world's workers.

Then there are the changes which come through appeals to the emotions and the

heart. Reformations based upon heart appeals, except in the case of individuals of strong will power, are almost invariably only temporary. Such appeals, for instance, as those of a dying mother, a parish priest, a city missionary, or a Salvation Army evangelist. In such cases the divine power will be found to follow very closely the degree of will power possessed by the convert. The Jerry McCauleys are few and far between. The combination of indomitable will power and divine inspiration enables such converted men to bring forth the splendid fruits of their lives. Neither will power alone nor divine inspiration alone can produce such lives. A strong will and the qualities of leadership in a boy are sure to result in his being either a very good or a very bad man. The great criminal leader has the same qualities as the great industrial or political leader. The difference between the two is not in their qualities, but in the use they make of them. Evangelists who work among the lawless pathetically exclaim, "Poor fellows, they meant to do right, but they fell back into sin because they were so weak." Add such

common expressions to the observations of all who have had any experience with the lawless and you will concede that perseverance in right living or the lack of it is chiefly dependent upon whether the individuals concerned have weak, average, or strong will power. Some philanthropists believe that the lawless would mend their ways if their fellow men could only be induced to treat them with more sympathy and charity. A full-fledged thug is generally an adept in plausibly expatiating upon his struggles and his hardships with a cold relentless world. When it suits his purpose he can tell such heartrending tales of oppression and persecution as to dupe even seasoned workers among his kind. If such stories were even partially true, society should certainly change its attitude and meet the lawless at least halfway. The fact is that the lawless care no more for society and its good opinion than the major part of society cares for them or their good opinion.

From some points of view the gang "in the open" would seem to be not as bad as it is painted. A former gang member, who had been brought back into the ranks of

the law-abiding through Mr. George's Law-and-Order Gang, was recently asked, "Was your gang really so bad before Mr. George came along?"

He replied, "I don't know what you'd call it. We'd smash a fellow's skull in for a nickel."

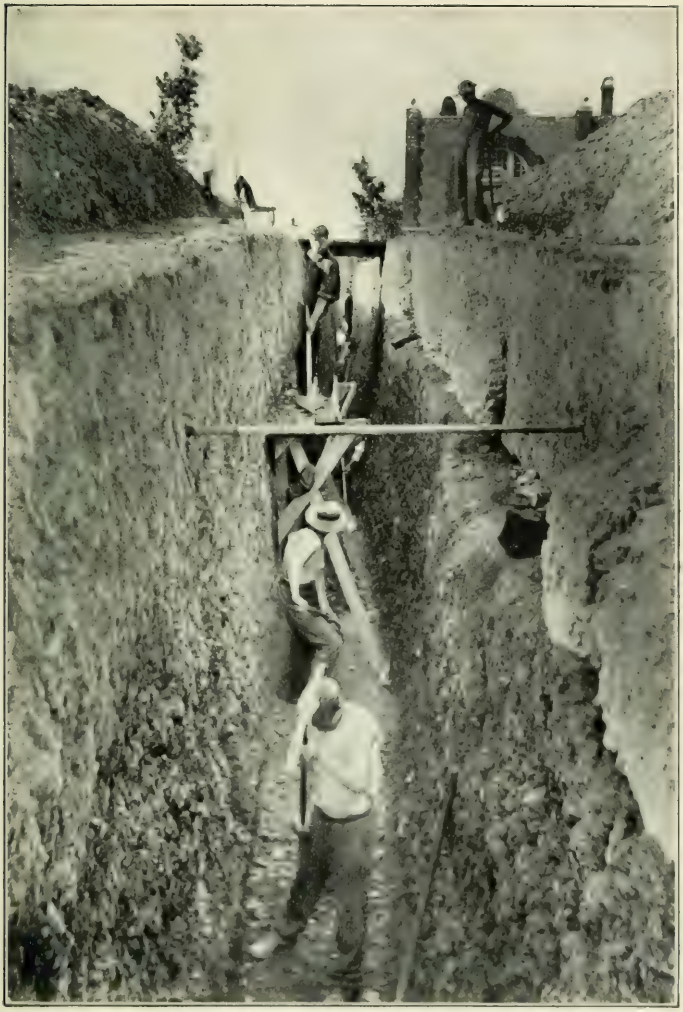
The dare-devil badness of the gang toughs is due in no small degree to their vanity and passion for notoriety, and this morbid passion is fostered by the newspapers which publish their pictures and give graphic and detailed descriptions of their atrocities and crimes. Toughs awaiting trial eagerly scan the papers to see if their crimes have been featured in "big write-ups." If they have received this coveted publicity, great is their satisfaction and sense of superiority over their more obscure brethren. If their crimes are omitted or mentioned only casually as minor news items, their humiliation and mortification is correspondingly keen. It is a great distinction to be a real tough. "I've killed my man and now I am a tough," exclaimed a young thug some years ago after committing an atrocious murder.

The way gang thugs will settle scores among themselves in a sanguinary manner and conceal the names of their enemies when giving ante-mortem statements to the police is proverbial. Frequently a dying tough, when being pressed by the police for the name of his assailant, will say with his last breath and a cynical smile of hatred on his lips, "Give youse his name! Not on yer life! The gang'll take care of him."

CHAPTER II

SUCCESS THROUGH FAILURE

In 1890 Mr. George opened a summer camp for the rejected of others — for boys and girls who would not attend Sunday school or wear clean clothes, and whose dispositions were not amiable. Some of them were over age and all were misfits. They were the problems of the various religious and philanthropic organizations which ran fresh-air camps. Mr. George, with a small band of volunteer helpers, most of them women, took these problems to the number of several hundred to the little hamlet of Freeville, New York, near the present site of the original Junior Republic. There they literally pitched their tents for the summer. Mr. George was well known in the neighborhood. He had been born and brought up on a farm at West Dryden, only a few miles away. His friends gave him not only moral support, but food and clothing for his wards. The local press



DIGGING THE FAMOUS BIG DITCH

wrote up the experiment with a will, and before long, churches, societies, and individuals for many miles around were providing a generous and continuous supply of food and clothing.

This lively camp became a centre of attraction for the whole countryside. After their day's work, farmers would hitch up their teams and bring their families to see these erstwhile street toughs play games. And with them they would bring apples, pears, peaches, grapes, potatoes, bread, pies, doughnuts, and whatever else their fields or pantries afforded. It was a favorite and never-failing diversion for the farmers to throw big juicy apples in among groups of boys and see them scramble for them. Out in the sun and the wind these pale city boys grew brown and sturdy, and the anæmic girls fat and rosy. It was all a great lark — a great success. So said Mr. George's friends, and so said many other worth-while people, and so said the press.

But after the first flush of novelty had worn off, the ghost began to appear at the banquet. The ghost took such forms as this: These young heirs of the disinherited

began to grumble at their food. It mattered not that it was many times better than anything they had ever known at home. They grumbled just the same. The boys began to steal fruit from the surrounding farmers. Without compunction they stole from the very farmers who had most generously donated to their larder. The farmers came to Mr. George in anger and asked if that was the way they were to be repaid for their kindness. And Mr. George had to put his hand into his pocket and pay for the stolen fruit, and then whip the culprits if he could locate them. Then there was the constant cry for more — more food, more clothes, more of everything. Every day the insistent inquiry, "Say, Mr. George, what tings is we goin' to git when we goes home?"

Mr. George was at this time a strong admirer of militarism. He organized the camp on a semi-military basis with himself as commander-in-chief. He had daily drills. He carefully drew up a set of rules and regulations — wise and benevolent rules and regulations for the welfare of his young wards. These they broke with a

regularity and skill worthy of a better cause. It mattered not how much or how clearly he explained that these rules were for their good and not his, they remained toward them either indifferent or hostile.

So ingrained into Mr. George's make-up was the military idea at this time that had some one else developed the Junior Republic he would have scouted it as sentimentalism. While his boys and girls liked and admired him, they also feared him, and it was this fear that he frankly used as the corner-stone of discipline. He had a most orthodox belief in the Old Testament motto, "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

He had, of course, lieutenants amongst his charges to whom he delegated certain responsibilities. With these he would freely consult and would sometimes follow their suggestions, but he was always careful to keep things absolutely in his own hands. Sometimes to secure certain ends he would appeal to the loyalty of the boys and girls to him personally, and at other times he would threaten them. He would tell them in their own language that unless they did certain things or refrained from doing cer-

tain other things, "something would drop." They were sufficiently acquainted with his muscular powers to have this threat produce a chastening effect upon even the toughest of them while he was on the scene. That was just where the trouble lay — neither the appeal to personal loyalty nor the threat of personal violence was always effective when he was not on the scene. Whenever he had to leave the premises his assistants quaked with apprehension.

One Sunday night he had an engagement to address a missionary meeting in an adjoining town. A group of the boys, headed by a former gang leader, had that day been frustrated in attempted mischief. They were in an ugly mood and intent on getting even with somebody. Mr. George felt it was dangerous to leave the camp in charge of his one male assistant that particular night, but he decided he must keep this appointment, particularly as the church where he was to speak was providing a generous share of the provisions of the camp.

He called the camp together in the big central tent to give them some parting

directions. He had to use a barrel stave as a persuader to get them all in. He then told them that he was going away for the evening and wished to give them "some orders straight from the shoulder." They were to remain right where they were and hold a song service, after which the assistant would give them a talk. Then they were to march directly to the house where they lodged and go straight to bed. Woe betide the fellow who dared to "rough house" in the slightest degree. Behind the woodshed the next morning would be held a whipping-bee where there would be a very practical readjustment for any delinquencies of the night before. They vowed they would behave, but Mr. George left them with misgivings.

For a time after he went the boys were models of propriety, but at length they began to alter the hymns to suit their own peculiar tastes. Then, came cat-calls, hoots, and jeers at the faithful assistants. The assistants, all young women except the man in charge, dismissed the meeting and tried to get the boys in line and march them to their sleeping-quarters. They

could no more keep them in line than a flock of wolves. When they got outside they began with one accord to make all kinds of hideous noises. Mr. George's parting threats, however, evidently stuck in their minds and before long they disappeared into their lodgings.

The disgruntled gang leader then gave them a harangue, the purport of which was that the opportunity to "do up" the male assistant should not be missed. He pointed out that they were "in for it" anyway when Mr. George got back, so they might as well make a thorough job of it. In other words they might as well get their licking's worth. That appealed to his hearers as unanswerable logic.

Meantime the assistants had been holding a council of war. They realized that physical resistance to that crowd of hoodlums was impossible. It was now quite dark and they judged by the sounds from the boys' sleeping-quarters that an attack was imminent. Two of the women wrapped themselves in sheets, quietly left the tent and gradually approached the boys' quarters by a circuitous route. Within a few

rods of the house they stopped and remained motionless. Suddenly the door flew open and out rushed a frenzied crowd of street toughs. On they rushed for a few steps and then caught sight of the white figures with extended arms moving up and down in slow rhythmical manner. That was too much for the toughest tough. Panic seized them; they fled silently back into the house, bolted the doors and windows, and nothing more was heard of them that night. For years after, these youths spoke in bated breath of the night they had seen the ghosts at Freeville. But they were not allowed to escape with merely their fright. The next morning the whipping-bee behind the woodshed was long in session.

Before the summer was over, misgivings began to creep into Mr. George's mind. Was the success of the work more than apparent? Were the boys and girls being helped in mind and heart as well as in body? If so, why did irresponsibility, lawlessness, and greed appear to be their dominant characteristics? At the close of the second summer these misgivings were still more

insistent. He began the third summer with a feeling that he was doing more harm than good, and by the end of the summer he was convinced that the work was little short of a crime. At the end of each summer the children returned to their homes with, to be sure, more color, more strength, and more clothes, but with less self-respect. They were being pauperized; and in some cases their parents also. Some of the fathers threw up their jobs and fell back into the charitable arms of their children's benefactors. Other fathers claimed to have lost their jobs when they had not. In short, the boys and girls were ever ready and greedy recipients of gratuities. They showed no glimmerings of gratitude. They quickly learned to claim charity as a right. Their degeneration in character kept pace with their receipt of unearned benefactions.

One day toward the end of the second summer, when these disquieting thoughts were passing through Mr. George's mind, he was assailed by the usual crowd of clamorous ragamuffins with their never-ending plaint, "Say, Mister George, what tings is we goin' to git to take home?"

Turning upon them he said, with some heat, "Can you tell me any reason in the wide world why these people should give you anything? Have n't you had a whole summer of good food and good times with good health thrown in? What right have you to expect anything more?"

A little black-eyed Italian girl strode forward and snapped out with flashing eyes, "What do you tink we come fur enyway?"

That settled it. Mr. George decided that he would tell his friends, and the now many donors to the work, that the whole thing was a sordid failure. He would also send announcements to the same effect to the local press. On calm second thought, however, he decided to make a final attempt to turn the tide of failure. He hated to shock and disappoint the many generous contributors to the work. Furthermore, many of the children came from homes of such wretched poverty that they desperately needed the food and the clothing and the physical upbuilding. The problem was — how to get these material blessings into their possession without undermining their

self-respect. The charity of the kind-hearted was impossible. It cultivated in the thoughtless recipients greed, sloth, and hypocrisy. On analysis, this apparent anomaly was a perfectly natural — yes, even an inevitable — process of cause and effect.

These urchins were sternly practical. They had been born and reared in a world where the problem of existing from day to day was all-absorbing. About ethics they knew nothing and cared nothing. Beyond food and clothes, shelter and pleasure, their aspirations and imaginations did not reach. Men and women who are at close grips with hunger and cold do not devote themselves to the ethical problems of man's higher life and neither do their children. A starving man does not say grace before devouring a savory meal. He is consumed with hunger and not with piety or gratitude. These children of the disinherited were consumed with hunger for the elemental comforts of life. If they could get food and clothing without work, why should they work? Under such conditions industry was meaningless and sloth reason-

able. Those who clamored hardest received most. Therefore greed was at a premium. Those who were most skillful in destroying the clothes they had, without detection, received new clothes the sooner. Hence deceit and hypocrisy were unwittingly rewarded. As to irresponsibility, how could these boys and girls be responsible when they had nothing to be responsible for? Surely they could not be expected to assume responsibilities they did not have! They were lawless — of course they were. To them laws were nothing but the arbitrary exactions of elderly people to be obeyed when necessary and evaded when possible. They were told that laws were for their good, for their protection. Whether they believed this or not is immaterial. They did not feel it. Their conduct, like that of most adults, was the outgrowth of what they felt in the concrete and not what they believed in the abstract. As for gratitude they had no more time for gratitude than has the starving man for a grace before eating. In fact, the greed, sloth, irresponsibility, ingratitude, and lawlessness of these youths were merely the nor-

mal outgrowth of conditions. As one cannot change human nature, to make these boys and girls generous, industrious, responsible, grateful, and law-abiding was impossible. But one can change the manifestations of human nature. Ordinary human nature follows the line of least resistance. Therefore, the line of least resistance should be made, so far as is possible, the line of right conduct. This was the reasoning that led Mr. George to resolve that to make his summer camp a success in fact as well as in name was worth a final effort. He would try once more — try radical experiments. If they failed, he would then abandon the work.

Accordingly the next summer, he opened the camp with the same assortment of boys and girls — not the same individuals, but they soon gave evidence of the same distressingly familiar characteristics; namely, greed, irresponsibility, lawlessness, and ingratitude. Mr. George had astounded one of the donors to the work by asking him to contribute picks and shovels instead of the usual croquet sets and other games. He said that he was going to give

up entertaining his charges and let them entertain him. His friend assured him that if he expected to amuse boys by providing them with hard labor, he was surprisingly ignorant of boy nature, but he provided the picks and shovels. Shortly after the camp opened, Mr. George called the boys together and gave them a spirited address on the necessity of hard work in order to enjoy life. He concluded with a discussion on the importance of good roads, and, producing the picks and shovels, he asked how many would like to use these tools. Amid shouts of enthusiasm "every last boy" eagerly volunteered. As there were nowhere nearly enough tools to go around, Mr. George and his assistants with great difficulty finally lined up the eager workers in several lines, gave the boy at the head of each line a pick and a shovel, and allowed him to use them for five minutes, whereupon he fell to the rear and the next boy enjoyed the privilege of hard labor for five minutes. So it continued throughout the working-day, every boy receiving in his turn his five-minute "trick" at the coveted tools. Mr. George meantime exultingly

watched the success of the experiment, accused himself for not having thought of it before, and only regretted that there were not enough tools to go around. The next day, however, his anxiety on this score was allayed. There were enough to go round. The third day, there were enough and to spare. The fourth day, there were plenty of picks and shovels, but no boys to use them.

During the brief period of industry, grumbling had ceased and the whole camp had been filled with an unwonted spirit of content and cheerfulness. When work ceased, the grumbling began again, as did also the incessant demand for "tings to take home."

A few days after the collapse of the work game, a large box of second-hand clothing arrived from a neighboring city. Surrounded by an eager and expectant audience, Mr. George knocked off the cover of the box. Many of the boys had slashed their clothes into rags in order that they might be the surer of getting a new outfit. Noticing this, Mr. George was so filled with disgust that he was about to nail on

the cover and send the box back to the givers, when a new idea struck him. He selected a particularly presentable suit, and, beckoning to a boy whom he thought it would fit, handed it to him. With muttered thanks and triumphant smiles the boy seized it. Mr. George then explained that he had not given it to him, but merely wanted to know what he thought of it. With some disappointment the boy exclaimed, "Them close is wort five dollars." The others protested they were worth more, but Mr. George let them stand at five dollars. He then asked the boy how much he could earn in a day. He thought he could earn a dollar — that is, with good luck and "murder extras." The others muttered their incredulity. But Mr. George accepted the estimate and asked, "If a boy can earn a dollar in one day, how many days will it take him to earn five dollars?" At once came the somewhat contemptuous retort, "Five days, of course!" "That's right," said Mr. George; and turning to the boy to whom he had handed the clothes, he said, "Now, when you have worked on the road five days,

counting out three hours during the heat of the day, you shall have the clothes."

There followed a howl of angry disappointment, "Work for dem old rags! Not on your tintype!" As Mr. George put the suit back into the box and nailed on the cover, he heard comments upon himself which promptly set at rest any lingering suspicions he may have had that he was still popular with his protégés. No wonder they resented this invasion of what their experience had taught them to look upon as their vested right to get something for nothing. One boy inquired what he was "goin' ter do with them close," and he replied, "Either send them back or put them in the cellar and let them rot." Just as he was about to leave, he detected a discordant note in the group. Could it be that there was an insurgent among them! Finally one boy stepped quickly forward and said, "Mister George, I'll work for dem close." Mr. George handed him the tools and he set to work amid the jeers, threats, and ridicule of his companions. All alone for five days he worked — a despised outcast among his fellows. At the end of the

fifth day he received his clothes. He at once borrowed a flatiron and pressed them. Mr. George well knew that had they been given him, so far from pressing them, he would have surreptitiously damaged them so that he might the sooner get another outfit.

When he strode forth proudly arrayed in his freshly pressed suit, the other boys called him a fool. Had it not been for his well-known reputation as a fighter their scorn might not have been confined to words. As it was he replied, "If I'm a fool it's kind of funny that I'm the only guy in the bunch as has a decent suit o' close." That struck home and after some inquiries as to how hard the work was, one of the other boys turned to a companion and said, "I'll work for close if you will." He agreed, and then a third and a fourth, until finally a youth sung out, "If that's the game, let's the whole bunch of us work for close." That ended the resistance. They all went to work and they all earned their clothes. From that time on, no boy received a stitch of clothing or an extra delicacy in the way of food which he had not earned.

Industry supersedes sloth; skill and energy, deceit and cunning; what has happened? Have the characters of these boys been changed? Not a bit! You cannot change character in a day any more than you can ever change human nature. But you can change the manifestations of character even in a day, just as you can in a brief period change the manifestations of human nature. These boys have the same standards, the same desires, and the same ambitions. Before, he who was most greedy, most successful in hypocrisy, and most improvident got the most clothes, pies, fruit, and other coveted prizes. Under the new régime, he who is most industrious, most honest and most provident receives most of these same material rewards. While before it paid to be deceitful and lazy, it now pays to be honest and industrious. It has become politic to be good, and these youths, being true utilitarians, act accordingly. Here is no change of heart the idealist will say! True, but can any one say that it is not better to be industrious and honest than lazy and deceitful whatever the condition of the heart? "As a man thinketh

in his heart so is he." To this precept might be added, "As a man doeth so does he come eventually to think." Just as right living follows right thinking, so does right living produce right thinking. Mr. George used the motives and desires the boys had to secure good actions and start right habits. He did not try to use desires and motives which they did not have.

One of the boys was particularly well dressed when he arrived at the camp. Among other things he had a derby hat, which was in that company conspicuous for its newness. Before he had been in camp twenty-four hours, some of the boys had shown their sense of the fitness of things by smashing it. So far from resenting this, the owner appeared mildly amused and wore the rim for some time with apparent satisfaction. It was not until after the introduction of the work régime that he decided he wanted another hat. When Mr. George showed him the stock, he expressed some disappointment at finding nothing as fine as his demolished "dip," but finally agreed to do the required two hours of work on the road for the best hat there was

to be had. He worked well, came to Mr. George, and got his hat. With most evident satisfaction he placed it upon his head with a slight tilt to one side and walked away. In less than an hour he reappeared spluttering with rage and carrying the remnants of the hard-earned hat in his hand. "Say, Mr. George," said he, "will youse look at dat dip? Won't yez make some sort of a rule dat de guys what smash up a dip like dat will get de stuffin' whaled out o' dem?" "Why," commented Mr. George, "you're making more fuss over this old hat, than you did over the smashing of that new one you had when you came!" "Sure," he replied with a shrug of the shoulders, "dat's all right, but I did n't work fer dat dip like I done for dis one."

Mr. George then called together a group of the boys, explained graphically how hard Ikey had had to work for his hat, held up the fragments that remained, and concluded by saying that at Ikey's suggestion he would make a new rule, that any one who injured property which had been earned should be sent to the stone pile. At this the industrious shouted their approval and

yelled at a small group of "never-works," "Now will youse be good!"

Labor makes property and property makes laws. Ikey wanted a law to protect derby hats. Other boys soon wanted laws to protect other forms of property which they had acquired by labor. Mr. George observed that these rules, which he grafted on to his code at the suggestion of anxious or indignant property-holders, were the only ones which were really enforced and obeyed. The rules he had made himself he had to enforce himself, but these rules were enforced by the whole community. They had grown up from within instead of being imposed from without. They had behind them the weight of public opinion. Here was the beginning of government — laws for the protection of property acquired by labor. These rules were the expression of the same impulse and purpose as those enacted by our remote ancestors in the beginnings of civilized society. Here was the beginning of government and the germ of the Junior Republic. Mr. George noted these incidents with interest, but was too busy to reason them out at the time.

For the better enforcement of the rules Mr. George at length established a Court of Justice. Here he acted as Judge, Jury, and Grand Executioner. The sentences were promptly executed by the Judge, armed with a stout birch rod, in his capacity as Grand Executioner. This daily performance was largely attended and much enjoyed by all except the culprits and Mr. George. Another discouraging feature of the proceedings from Mr. George's point of view was that the number of the culprits did not diminish. Each morning brought forth its fresh quota. Crime did not decrease.

One morning just before he was to use the birch rod on the two star offenders of the day, Mr. George looked over the company and saw such unmistakable glances of eager expectancy that he was seized with a humiliating consciousness of the farcical character of the whole affair. These boys and girls came to be entertained. It was their daily circus. Suddenly the idea flashed into his mind of turning the two remaining culprits over to their companions for trial.

"Boys and girls," said he, with great

A TOWN MEETING

A COURT SESSION

earnestness, "I have been acting in all these cases as Judge, Jury, and Grand Executioner. I don't know what you have thought about the matter; I don't know that I have really cared, but this morning I do care. This is going to be your affair. I am going to let Lanky and Curly tell their story to you and then I am going to let you decide whether they shall be punished or go free. It's up to you."

At once there was a change in the bearing of every boy and girl present. They straightened up and nodded their approval to Mr. George and to one another. There was a new light in their eyes. This light pleased Mr. George. He felt that justice would be done.

Lanky and Curly, who were seated on a bench, back to the company, did not even turn round to see how this announcement was received. Lanky leaned toward Curly and said in a stage whisper, "Say, Curly, dis is a lead-pipe cinch!"

Mr. George turned to Lanky and said, "Now, son, you may get up and tell your fellow citizens all about it."

Lanky, who was something of a humor-

ist, rolled his eyes toward the heavens, assumed a sanctimonious expression, swung slowly round in a pivotal manner, and drawled out, "I hain't stole no apples. Oh, no, I hain't stole no apples."

When this effort was received with stony silence, instead of with the expected shouts of laughter, Lanky for the first time lowered his eyes and looked into the faces of his companions. Every young face was set and serious. He saw that peculiar light in their eyes which had so pleased Mr. George. It did not please Lanky. He realized with confused amazement that he was facing stern judges instead of condoning pals. The angry defiance which is so easily aroused in street boys flamed forth, and he shouted, "Aw, every one o' youse has stole apples!"

After this outburst, stage fright with all its paralyzing horrors seized upon Lanky. Like an animal at bay he stood abject and cowering for some minutes and finally whined out, "Say, fellers, I did n't stole dem apples. Curly here is de bloke wat stole dem."

At this several of the boys shouted, "Shame, shame!" and the wretched Lanky

realized that he had made a fatal blunder. With the courage of desperation he blurted out, "Aw, kill me, then, if youse want ter," and threw himself down upon the bench.

Mr. George said to the company, "Is he guilty or not guilty?"

There was a pause and one boy called out in explanation of this technical phrase, "He wants to know wedder he done it or wedder he did n't done it."

With a howl came the unanimous verdict of the jury, "He done it!" And then Mr. George "done it" upon the person of Lanky.

After Lanky had left the tent, muttering that he would "lay for a chance to get even with every guy in the bunch," Mr. George said to Curly, "Now it's your chance, my boy."

Curly had not watched Lanky's misfortunes in vain. He well knew he could n't "put anything across" on that jury and so he did not try. He said, "Yes, I took de apples, but Lanky did n't play me quite square when he said I took dem all. I don't know which of us took de most. I guess we did n't count, but I took me share an'

I'm willin' ter take me share of de trashing, but I jus' wan ter tell you fellers dat I'll hole me right hand up an' promise dat I hopes ter die if I ever takes any more, 'cause I know it hain't right to steal an' me mudder she would feel orful bad if she know'd I'd been crookin', an' dat's all wat I got ter say." And with that he dropped upon the bench, buried his head in his arms, and burst into tears.

Mr. George said, "Is he guilty?"

No response.

"Is he not guilty?" asked Mr. George.

Again no response, except that the whole company was plunged into an animated conversation. A group of the older boys withdrew somewhat from the others and appeared particularly absorbed in discussion. Finally one of these boys, evidently speaking for the others, said, "Mr. George, there hain't no doubt 'bout it that Curly is guilty, but say, Mr. George, won't youse please go light on him?"

Here was a "recommendation for mercy," and Mr. George proceeded to "go light enough on Curly" to suit the most sympathetic observer.

After disposing of Curly, Mr. George said, "Before dismissal I want to tell you that hereafter all discussions of this kind are going to be settled in this tent by you boys and girls."

The next morning there were only half the usual number of offenders. Mr. George then announced that there would be no more whippings, but that those convicted would be required to pick up stones in the meadow for a number of hours commensurate with their offense. He appointed one of his adult helpers as keeper and charged him with the duty of seeing that the orders of the court were executed.

This new method of punishment still further reduced the volume of business of the court. Finally, however, another "crime wave" overtook the community and at a particularly unfortunate time. The keeper was ill. As a kind of kill-or-cure experiment, Mr. George appointed the toughest boy in the camp as keeper in his stead. It was a cure. The prisoners could sometimes fool the adult keeper, but they could never fool this boy. He knew all the tricks. Before the colony returned to New

York some weeks later the court had suspended for lack of offenders.

These boys and girls returned to their homes laden with clothes and provisions they had earned. Not one had been pauperized by the well-meant gratuities of kind-hearted people. They had won self-respect as well as food, clothing, and health. They had lived as young Americans, not as young slaves. Those who had most had worked hardest. Their reward was an object-lesson to those who had less. Instead of remarking, as had been their gracious custom of former years, "dat dey was goin' by de odder lady next time," they pleaded for the privilege of coming back another year and working.

CHAPTER III

A NEW OLD IDEA

AFTER the summer campers had gone, Mr. George remained in the country for a brief period of rest and reflection. He was fairly bewildered by the possibilities opened up by the summer of radical experiments. So many vistas of possibility had opened before him! Requiring boys and girls to work for goods was one; their desire to protect, by law, property thus acquired, was another; their standard of meting out justice to the lawbreaker another; and the lawbreaker's acceptance of the verdict of his peers still another. What would be the result of developing these ideas to their logical conclusions? Why should not boys and girls be required to work for their food and lodging as well as extras? This would greatly increase the desire to protect by law the fruits of their labor. Every individual would then through self-interest be of necessity interested in law and order.

Boys and girls could get along without extra clothing to wear or additional food to eat, but none could live without some food, shelter, and clothing. During the past summer certain individuals had gone in rags and foregone extra delicacies to eat rather than work. Even these stanch supporters of the theory, that the world owes every man a living, would work if thus only could they obtain the necessities of life. Enforced industry would strengthen the desire to regulate the lawless. The lawbreakers would respect even more the verdict of their peers, because there would be none to condone their offense or look upon it with indifference.

The possession of various kinds of property would lead naturally to barter; a development of barter would mean a medium of exchange; and that, a currency. Currency would necessitate a bank to protect it from thieves. Now, thieves suggested laws and lawmaking, officers of the law, and a jail. And they in turn implied a court and legal procedure for the interpretation of the law and its enforcement. The germs of all these ideas had appeared in the summer camp.

As soon as the boys and girls had acquired property as the reward of their labor, they had suggested laws for the protection of such property. These laws they had enforced and obeyed with a zeal previously unknown. The necessity for the interpretation and enforcement of the laws had led to the establishment of a court of justice. This court had not been effective until the culprits had been turned over to their peers for judgment. It had been necessary to provide a keeper to guard the prisoners while they were serving their sentences. This post of keeper had been more adequately filled by one of their own number than by the adult who had originally undertaken it.

As these thoughts passed through Mr. George's mind and fell into their logical sequence, he said to himself, "These ideas are unique and radical and yet withal possible. Moreover, they seem strangely familiar, as if I had known them in some previous existence — no, it was nearer, more familiar, as if I had but yesterday discovered them in full operation. Was it in a school? No. In an institution? Much

less. In any place where I have seen groups of boys and girls gathered together for instruction or reformation? Not a trace of them. And yet all these ideas, both in theory, in practice, and in their relation to one another, are as familiar as the noonday sun."

Suddenly he awoke as if from a dream and exclaimed, "Why, here are the three powers of government — the legislative, executive, and judicial. Moreover, underneath all is property, the economic foundation of society and of government. My vision differs only from the conditions of real life in the Big Republic, in that the citizens are boys and girls instead of men and women. This vision shall be a reality! It shall be our glorious Republic in miniature, and Junior Republic shall be its name!"

A few days later, Mr. George returned to New York and outlined to his friends this plan to establish a community and found a government of, for, and by the boys and girls. To his great disappointment they did not greet the proposal with enthusiasm. Some of them scouted the whole scheme as

mere moonshine and tried to dissuade him from attempting it. Others acknowledged that it was an interesting and plausible theory, but utterly impossible to put into practice. Boys and girls were too irresponsible and their judgments were too immature for any such plan to be possible. Even the most sanguine saw in it nothing but a picturesque experiment of merely curious and transitory value. This opposition and chilling encouragement made Mr. George more determined than ever to demonstrate his theories in practice.

With this determination firmly in mind he plunged for the time being into the heat of the struggle which resulted in the defeat of the Tammany ticket and the election of William L. Strong as Mayor of New York. As an active campaign worker in the toughest sections of the city, he gained practical experience which was later of great value in the Republic work. He also picked out a few boys and girls as prospective pioneer citizens, as well as some young men and women for helpers, who had been tested under fire in this great municipal battle. Two at least of the boys thus selected

understood almost as well as Mr. George himself the significance of the experiment in which they were about to take part. Both of them are now notably successful citizens of the Big Republic. Like many another since then they passed, from the city slums, through the Junior Republic, into the larger life of the world.

CHAPTER IV

A REPUBLIC FOR BAD BOYS

On July 10, 1895, Mr. George arrived at Freeville with one hundred and forty-four boys and girls from the poorest and toughest sections of New York City. They started at once to found a Republic of, for, and by boys and girls. Within an hour Mr. George was convinced that the plan was working. Within a few days other adults, some of whom had been incredulous, began to have faith in the idea. Within a few months hundreds of visitors were coming to view the unique experiment in self-government.

The members of Mr. George's Law-and-Order Gang in the city, by reason of their training in law enforcement, naturally took the lead and were elected to most of the offices. Mr. George overheard the newly appointed Chief of Police, who had been one of the pillars of the Law-and-Order Gang, initiating some very raw recruits

into the duties of citizenship, in these words, "Yez hev got ter cut yer shenanigen in de way o' crap-shootin' and cussin' up here, an' yez hev got ter get busy an' enforce de law or we'll lam yer."

Before the summer was over, Mr. George had decided that it was his duty to burn his bridges behind him, stay in Freeville, and establish a permanent Junior Republic. At this point he finally severed connection with his waning interest — the making of jewelry cases — and permanently committed himself to his waxing interest — the making of men. Five boys volunteered as pioneer citizens for the permanent Republic. The democratic idea had struck deep in two of these boys and they realized in large measure the significance of the experiment in which they were to take part; the other three were merely thoughtless youths, loyal to Mr. George and "game" for adventures.

Just as Washington and his men, that winter at Valley Forge, fought hunger and cold and privation of all kinds in bringing the Big Republic into being, so Mr. George and his boys, that first winter at Freeville,

fought hunger and cold and privation in giving birth to the Junior Republic. And just as Valley Forge was a cruelly effective preparation for self-government for the pioneer citizens of the Big Republic, so was that first winter at Freeville a sternly excellent preparation for self-government for the pioneer citizens of the Junior Republic.

All the wood used for cooking had to be cut and gathered by hand. All the water had to be carried up a steep hill from a spring some distance away. When in mid-winter the wind was sweeping over the crest of this ice-glazed hill at the rate of sixty miles an hour, it was no mean achievement to fetch a pail of water. After five more citizens had joined the colony, raising the number of inhabitants to twelve, these twelve people — two men and ten boys — subsisted on an income of ten dollars a month, — not ten dollars apiece, but ten dollars a month for the entire company. In such conditions self-reliance became a necessity rather than a virtue. Mr. George regretted the extreme hardships until he found what they meant for the self-reliance

of the boys. After that he viewed them with complacency.

The essentials of self-government reduced to their simplest forms were all introduced into this pioneer colony. The boys elected one of their number President and he appointed a judge and a police officer. Rules for the conduct of the community were made by all the citizens when called together by the President for that purpose. A tin currency was adopted as the legal tender of the community. They had a bank, a store, a hotel, and a jail — but during this first winter they had few prisoners. No citizen received anything except by purchase, and in order to purchase he must have purchasing power and this could only be acquired by labor. In short, this little community, except that there were no girl citizens, corresponded in all essentials to a Junior Republic as defined to-day: namely, a country village like any other country village except that the citizens are boys and girls instead of men and women.

The place where the inhabitants ate and slept was dignified by the name "hotel."

This was conducted by a citizen. The contract was let to the highest bidder every Saturday night. After several of the older boys had failed to come out even with this laborious contract, a little chap called "Artie" determined to try it. As the fruits of his toil as dish-washer he had a considerable pile of tin dollars laid aside. In spite of the protests of his advisers, Artie triumphantly bid in the hazardous contract. The citizen holding the contract made the house rules during his week. Artie drafted such a drastic set of rules for his boarders that he was forced by public clamor to modify them. Even in the modified draft, every boy was required to say his prayers before getting into bed at night. Artie evidently wanted Providence to smile upon his venture. Up to the middle of the week the young contractor had done so well that he began to relax his business vigilance. As a result he was by Saturday so far behind that it became evident he could not finish his work before the contract expired. That meant a heavy fine and failure. As a "kill-or-cure" short cut, Artie decided to douse the floors with

water instead of using the more arduous soap and brush method. It killed. The water filtered through all the ceilings, and way down into the cellar. He was assessed ten dollars in damages and plunged into bankruptcy. One of the older citizens said, as he watched the disconsolate Artie mingling his tears with the soapsuds in his final scrubbing, "I'm sorry for you, Artie, but you know I told you you'd never get anything out o' this." "I am gettin' somethin'!" replied Artie, straightening up and looking his companion in the face. "What are you getting?" inquired the older boy. "I'm gettin' experience!" snapped out Artie as he gritted his teeth, stopped his tears, and redoubled his efforts. A. Jones never again failed in business.

Days ran into weeks, weeks into months, and months into years, until finally a substantial little hamlet had come into being. The citizens were with few exceptions from homes of real poverty or no homes at all, so that the hardships of the rude community were to them commonplaces. Sometimes brawny and lawless new arrivals

PORCH, REPUBLIC INN

LIVING ROOM, REPUBLIC INN

would make things lively for the young officers before they were subdued, tried, convicted, and imprisoned. But law and order always prevailed in the end and the disturber of the peace was locked up where he could make no more trouble. When he returned to society after this discipline, he usually joined the ranks of the industrious and law-abiding. In prison he was forced to work for the community for nothing. Outside he could work for something. When it finally came home to him that the alternative was not between working and loafing, but between working for pay and working without pay, it did not take him long to choose. As time went on, Mr. George noticed that those citizens who caused most trouble when they first came usually became the best and strongest leaders before they left. Finally this became so marked that he announced that *general badness*, so far as the boys were concerned, would be regarded as a special qualification for citizenship in the Junior Republic. When this announcement got abroad, there was no dearth of applications from parents, societies, and officials

for the admission of candidates richly qualified in this respect.

Here is a composite picture of the experience of a typical young tough committed to the Republic at this period. Micky is a gang leader of the first magnitude in one of the toughest sections of New York City. He has the indomitable will power of the born leader. He has long been a terror and scourge of the law-abiding in his neighborhood. He has assessed peddlers for the privilege of doing business unmolested. He has been the hero and idol of all the small boys of his neighborhood and he has experienced the ecstasy of being written up in the papers. Finally comes the crowning distinction. He is arrested for an unusually serious offense, sent to the city prison without bail, comes up for trial, and is found guilty. Some influential friends have interceded in the boy's behalf, with the result that he is not sent to prison. The Judge says, "I'm not going to send you to prison, young man. I'm going to suspend sentence with the understanding that you go to the Junior Republic. Would you rather go there or to a reformatory?" The boy does not know

the difference and does not care, but he has been coached by some friend to say that he would prefer the Junior Republic. He is then placed in charge of an officer and starts for Freeville. On the journey he soliloquizes somewhat in this fashion, "This Republic is probably some sort of a 'ref.' I know the kind o' fellers I'll find there. They'll be warm ones. I wonder if any of 'em got as big write-ups when they was pinched as I got." The fear that some fellow may tell a tale eclipsing his own in criminal glory leads him to review carefully his story and add here and there embellishments and high lights calculated to enable it at least to hold its own against all comers.

When he arrives at the Republic, it does not look at all as he had imagined it. There are no walls or guards, no great brick buildings with immaculate flower gardens in front, no big dormitories and no uniformed boy inmates. Instead, he seems to have landed in a little village similar to many he has passed through that very day. He sees around him boys and girls of about his own age going about their affairs with a cheerful briskness. He is both surprised

and disgusted to find girls here. He feels that it is derogatory to his criminal record to be sent to a place where there are girls. He sees some boys playing baseball. They are the only ones who are wearing uniforms. The other boys are dressed just like any boys, some well and some poorly, and some in blue jeans like workingmen. The home where he has just been placed to board is presided over by a motherly woman whom the boys call "Auntie." Everybody seems glad to see him, but they are so free and easy and homelike in their ways that he becomes very much confused and abashed. He hears no swearing and begins to fear that this is a kind of Sunday-school place. This fear is increased by learning that the use of tobacco is punishable. The one redeeming feature in all this strangeness is that some of the fellows speak in the familiar slang of the streets. He feels that he must establish himself in the confidence of some of these.

At his first opportunity he joins the conversation of a knot of fellows and begins to dilate upon his criminal acts. Suddenly he checks himself in the midst of a thrilling

tale of theft. Several of his auditors have turned on their heels and walked away, while those that remain listen in chilling silence. The effect of his effort to ingratiate himself with his companions has been much the same as if a man should go into a hotel and say to a group of the guests, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am a pickpocket and I have come to live with you."

Micky spends sleepless hours that night wondering what kind of a place he is in, and why there is no appreciation of a "bad one." In the morning, while he is wandering about, still dazed and humiliated, he comes upon an old pal of the city. For a few minutes they have a congenial talk about the old life in New York, but Micky notices that even his friend has no longer any enthusiasm about their escapades. He is preoccupied, and soon switches the subject to his present prospects as a contractor for cement sidewalks which he is laying in the Republic. "Are you a boss?" asks the mystified Micky. "Sure, an' hire about a dozen fellers."

At this point they are interrupted by a police officer, who takes Micky by the arm

and tells him he is under arrest. Micky would have sworn that no boy could ever arrest him, but off he goes without resistance, the young contractor following. At the police station he learns that a theft was committed the night before and that, as he is a newcomer, and had given himself a bad character, suspicion fastened upon him. Almost in tears he protests his innocence, but is having great difficulty in establishing it to the satisfaction of the Court, when the young contractor comes to his rescue. His declaration that he believes Micky innocent has weight with the Court because of his high standing and large influence in the community, and Micky is set free.

As they leave the police station, the contractor says to Micky, "You see you went and queered yourself right from the start by gettin' off all that stuff that you thought would give you a pull with the fellers. I made the same break myself when I first came. You'll learn better before you've been here long. Do you want a job? I'll give you one with me." "No'p," says Micky, "I guess I won't go

to work just yet." "But you'll be wanting your dinner before long," says the contractor, "an' that'll make you want to hustle, an' as quick as you get ready to get a move on, come to me an' I'll give you a job."

Micky continues to wander about in a dazed condition while he soliloquizes as follows, "They hain't none o' my kind here. Even that kid contractor what belonged to our gang in the city, an' we thought was a warm one, has gone wrong here an' got into the preachin' business. Work for him! Not on yer life! I wish dey 'd 'a' sent me to a reg'lar ref. Honest, I'm goin' to beat it. I wonder if I can git some feller to go wid me. Like as not if I try, he'd squeal. Think I'll beat it alone. That makes me tink. I seen the feller in the next room to me has a silver watch. He had it out last night showin' it to another guy. I'll just lift that an' make my sneak. I can hock it when I git ter the city. I guess I'll go round an' see if I can lift it now. I seen him goin' ter work with his overalls on."

Micky goes up to the room, finds it unlocked, enters and takes the watch, and

then starts off across the fields toward the railroad station. Before he has gone far he hears some one shouting, and turning, sees "that fresh kid officer" in close pursuit.

"Where you goin'?" shouts the officer.

"Out to pick flowers," Micky calls back.

The young officer retorts, grinning, "Just you come along with me an' see the nice flowers we got over to the station house."

The humor of this retort does not appeal to Micky, but as before he submits without resistance. When they reach the station house the officer, to Micky's great dismay, begins to search him. Micky sees all hope is gone. Article after article is produced until finally out comes the watch.

"Where did you get this?" asks the officer.

"Me poor sick mother give it to me just before I left New York," answers Micky sullenly.

He is held in custody as a suspicious character. A little later the boy from whom he stole the watch rushes in breathlessly and gasps out that he has been robbed. To his great delight he is shown the much-prized watch, which he identifies and bears

off in triumph. That same day the Grand Jury meet and indict Micky for larceny, whereupon he is locked in a cell in the jail.

"How can I get out o' this cooler?" he asks the smiling young turnkey.

"Just git bail — that's all," is the reply.

Micky knows well what bail is, and replies cheerfully, "All right. I'll git that fixed easy. I'll be out in ten minutes. Go an' git me friend, the contractor, will yer?"

As the accommodating turnkey hastens off on his errand, Micky says to himself with deep disgust, "Ah, all dis red tape makes me sick!"

The young contractor arrives in a few minutes and says, "Got pinched, eh, Micky?"

"Shure ting, an' I want ter git out er dis. They tell me I've gotter git bail an' I knowed youse would go it for me if I sent for yer."

"You got another guess comin' on dat, Micky!"

"How is dis?" asks Micky angrily; "you're goin' back on an old pal?"

"No, Micky, not if you'd ha' been willin' ter work an' not try to beat it on the

sneak, but you did, an' that queered it. You started off without sayin' nothin' to me an' I know you'd do it again if I come up with the bail; an' then I'd be stung an' have to fork over to the Government some o' my good money what I worked hard for. Things is different up here, Micky, you'll find before —"

"Aw, cut it out an' go chase yerself, you preacher you!" angrily interrupts Micky.

But the young contractor has no more than disappeared before Micky's valor begins to ooze out in the form of large tears which make their white course down a very dirty face.

"Guess I'm goin' ter git it in de neck dis trip all right," he woefully soliloquizes.

The following Friday evening he is brought before the Court for trial. A jury of four, which happens to be made up of two girls and two boys, is impaneled to try his case. The District Attorney with a businesslike air seems to be informing the Court of all the disagreeable things possible against him. His lawyer, who he later learns was employed by his former pal, the contractor, puts the best face possible upon

matters, but since he was caught in the act, his case is hopeless, and after being out only two minutes, the jury bring in a verdict of "guilty." Then the quiet, thoughtful-looking boy Judge, after giving Micky some good advice, which in his confused state of mind he only half hears, pronounces sentence. He is to serve for so many weeks in the Republic jail. He is at once taken in charge by the boy keeper, escorted back to the prison, given convict clothing, and locked in a cell awaiting the call in the morning to go out to work with his dozen or so fellow convicts.

When he is left alone, he sinks upon the cot in his cell and rapidly reviews in his mind all the events from the time of his arrest in the city up to the present moment. His confused speculations run somewhat thus, "Down dere in de Tombs dey tought I was a tough bloke. I was *it*, an' dey put it in de papers. I dunno what's de matter up here. Tings is all twisted! Here I'm in jail just like I was down in de city, but I shure hain't *it*," and with that he bursts into sobs.

What is the matter with the valiant

Micky? How is it that, having snapped his fingers in proud defiance at the terrors of the great gloomy Tombs prison in New York, he is crushed and penitent in this little country jail? Here he finds himself locked up by his equals and companions because they cannot trust him. There is no romance in that! No, there is nothing brave or dashing, nor is there even salve for wounded vanity! Back in the city he was captured by the enemy, — the Police, — and by the enemy he was held with all the proper oaths, threats, and other melodramatic features. On the outside his followers mourned and admired their martyred hero and feasted their eyes enviously upon the published accounts of the dark deeds of this "daring young criminal." But here is no glory, only bitter humiliation.

After Micky has served his allotted time, with some curtailment for good behavior, he comes out chastened, gets a job under his friend, the young contractor, and gradually becomes industrious, clean, orderly, and law-abiding. Has his character been reformed? Not at all. He has simply, by

the use of his excellent powers of observation and quick wits, discovered that it does not pay to be bad in the Junior Republic. There is neither fame, honor, nor profit in badness in this place. Micky is no fool. Under these hopelessly unprofitable conditions he ceases to be bad.

After the Republic had for some years proved successful in reforming bad boys from poor homes and no homes, Mr. George began to receive applications from rich and well-to-do parents whose boys were committing vicious or criminal acts. For some time he refused to admit such boys, on the ground that the money contributed to the Republic was given to aid the poor and unfortunate. Finally, however, he concluded that there was no logical reason why the son of a rich or well-to-do man should not be saved to society just as well as the son of a poor man, provided only he did not eliminate the poor boy. The financial difficulty was surmounted by not using any of the contributed funds for such boys. While the boys themselves were put on exactly the same basis as the poor boys, and made to support themselves, their

parents were required to pay for them just as they would were they attending a boarding-school. "Nothing Without Labor" was adopted as the motto of the Republic, and was applied just as rigidly to the rich boy as the poor boy. After that it mattered not whether a boy were rich or poor — the only qualifications for admission were a sound mind and a sound body, plus general badness.

Everything depended upon the industry and thrift of the individual boy. So it might happen, and often has happened, that a boy from a slum district like Hell's Kitchen or Mulberry Bend in New York may through industry and thrift become rich by Republic standards, while the son of a rich man may through the opposite qualities be arrested and sentenced for vagrancy. In some such cases the poor boy has helped the rich boy to get onto his feet, sometimes even giving him employment himself.

A boy once came to the Republic who up to the age of fourteen had never known a man, woman, or child who was not a crook. He had never been inside a school,

or a church, or a home worthy of the name. He had never heard of either of his parents. From his earliest remembrance he had gained his subsistence by picking pockets. When he grew large and strong, he went into the hold-up business as being both more exciting and more profitable. If there was ever a born criminal, according to superficial popular standards, it was this boy. When he entered the Republic at the age of sixteen, he was so dirty and unkempt both in mind and body that even the stout democracy of that little commonwealth could not stomach him. He was a social outcast even there. He was so almost revoltingly unattractive that none of the employers in charge of the farm and the shops would have him around. Besides, he had never done any honest work and was hopelessly clumsy in his half-hearted efforts. Finally he drifted to the jail, where an indigent citizen may lodge three days at the public expense. When his three days were up, he was arrested as a vagrant, tried, convicted, and committed to the jail.

During his jail term he was set to work as a plumber's assistant. By the time his term

was over he had learned such rudiments of the trade that on his release he was able to secure employment in the plumbing shop. He then began to change rapidly. He learned how to wash and to wear collars and neckties and to make himself generally presentable. No sooner had he got on his feet than he began to act as a guide, philosopher and friend to the more desperately "down and out" of the newcomers and to those just released from the Republic jail. He cheered many a far-from-hopeful citizen by telling him his own story and assuring him that what he had done any one could do. Finally he and his followers organized a club which they called the "Down-and-Out Club," of which he was very naturally elected president.

In talking with one of the Republic citizens Mr. Stowe learned how this boy had helped a boy from the opposite pole socially who came to the Republic about this time. This youth's family was of the bluest blood in the country. In spite of this he had been universally condemned by all who had had to do with him for "miscellaneous worthlessness," to use an expres-

sive phrase coined by the late Professor Shaler of Harvard. He was incredibly indolent and went to jail as a vagrant rather than work. In the jail he was of course forced to work. When he came out, so bad was his reputation that no one would employ him. He was about to be recommitted to the jail when Sneider, president of the "Down-and-Out Club," took him in hand. He tried to get him a job, but no one would have him. Sneider talked the matter over with his club friends and said, "You know Boutwell, that swell guy? Well, I've been tryin' to land a job for him, but it ain't no use. There won't nobody have him. They say he ain't no good, an' perhaps he ain't, but I believe there's good in that guy if anybody could dig down deep enough to get it out. Now, our clubroom is as dirty as a pig-pen because there ain't no one to keep it cleaned up. How would it be if I was to give Boutwell a job as a kind of janitor-like, to keep the place slicked up? If you fellers could n't stand the strain to pay him, I could pay him mostly myself, now that I'm on Easy Street. Do you think he'd take it?"

They thought it probable that he would take anything rather than go to jail again, and told Sneider to "try de guy," but they variously expressed the opinion that the arrangement would not last long. Accordingly Sneider offered him the job and he accepted. For a week or so Boutwell gave satisfaction and all went well. Then, one morning, after some festivities in the clubroom the night before, Sneider, before going off to work in the plumbing shop, asked Boutwell to be sure and swab down the floor and get things to rights during the day. When Sneider came back that night, he found Boutwell buried in a novel, the floor unwashed, and everything in confusion as when he had left in the morning. The floodgates of Sneider's righteous fury flew open and he burst out, "You lazy, worthless bloke, you! Here you was the tag end of the whole Republic an' everybody said as you was all to the bad an' would n't have you round, an' I come along an' said there was some good in you somewheres, an' made dis here job for ye an' paid ye mostly out o' me own pocket, an' dis is the way yer pay me for it! I guess

they was right when they said youse was no good, an' I guess I was a fool to bother with ye, but I'm goin' to be a bigger fool still an' give you one more chanst. If ye don't make good dis trip, I'll take ye by de collar an' throw ye out dat winder an' clean my hands of ye. Now, get busy an' let's see if deys all got de laugh on me an' you ain't no use anyways." So saying he abruptly left the room.

After several weeks had elapsed, during which Boutwell had kept the clubroom immaculately clean, Sneider said to him one morning, "Well, Bouty, dey did n't get de laugh on me after all. I knew dey was good in ye if we could only dig it up an' we done it. Now, I'm goin' out an' tell 'em you're jest as good as any of 'em an' git ye a real job."

Sneider got the real job for Boutwell and then had the satisfaction of saying, "What did I tell ye 'bout dat guy?" as Boutwell forged rapidly ahead into the front rank of wealth and prominence in the Republic. After a time the "Down-and-Out Club" secured for their leader the nomination for President of the Republic. He was elected

almost unanimously. His first official act was to give Boutwell the chief portfolio in his Cabinet, that of Judge of the Republic, and they made a strong team.

There never were abler Governments nor a higher standard of intelligence and morality in the Junior Republic than during the period when "general badness" was a special qualification for admission. This was neither more nor less true after the admission of boys from homes of culture and wealth. Soon, however, it became obvious, as in the case of Sneider and Boutwell, that the mingling of boys from radically different social spheres was of mutual advantage. The severe laws against smoking, drinking, and swearing now on the statute books of the Republic were enacted by the citizens during this "general badness" régime. Up to this time the Junior Republic was in effect a reformatory — a reformatory that actually reformed.

CHAPTER V

THE REPUBLIC BECOMES A DEMOCRACY

From the founding of the Republic there had always been one or two citizens who had no bad record. Mr. George found that the responsibilities of citizenship were of as great advantage to these as to those who had been distinctly bad. He had been distressed, too, at finding that outsiders commonly regarded his friends, the citizens, as "young criminals." He saw that the Junior Republic was coming to be looked upon solely as a reformatory. Now, while it did reform, he was anxious that it should stand for much more. Furthermore, the so-called bad so soon became good after entering the Republic that the outside distinction between goodness and badness in boys and girls appeared more and more superficial and unimportant. Then, too, as the intrinsic value of the Republic training came to be recognized, applications began to come for the admission of boys

and girls who were not bad. And so Mr. George concluded that to exclude such boys and girls, like the former exclusion of the bad who happened to come from homes of wealth, was both illogical and unjustifiable.

Accordingly the last bars were let down and the Republic gradually became a real democracy, admitting to its citizenship all boys and all girls of all degrees of goodness and badness, and of all classes of society, provided only they were sound in mind and body. At this time Professor Liberty Hyde Bailey of Cornell remarked, "The Junior Republic is rapidly evolving from a reformatory institution to a great educational principle"; and Mr. George shocked established traditions by the public announcement that "a bit of the Junior Republic training is good for all boys and all girls, no matter what their moral character or social standing." After this it made no difference, so far as admission to the Republic was concerned, "whether boys or girls were black or white, rich or poor, very very good, or very very bad, so long as they were very very something."

People say, "But don't the boy and girl

citizens make mistakes?" Of course they do — just as do their elders. "Don't they make unwise laws?" From time to time they do make unwise laws and then they suffer for them, just as we do. The Superintendent has a veto on all laws, but he does not use it. It is merely a precaution, like an escape valve on a boiler. The way to learn the necessity for wise laws is to experience foolish ones. When an unjust law is passed, those who are injured by it agitate, go to the courts, and sooner or later secure its amendment or repeal. At one time, for instance, a law was passed that the District Attorney should receive twenty-five cents for every arrest he made and fifty cents more for every conviction he secured. After that law went into effect, every arrest led to a conviction. There were no more acquittals, at any rate, in the police court cases where there were no juries. There was plainly a corrupt alliance between the District Attorney and the Judge. They were using the new law as a "get-rich-quick" scheme for themselves. Finally the President of the Republic went to the Hon. Thomas Mott

Osborne, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the George Junior Republic Association, and said, "Uncle Tom, we've got to do something to stop this grafting in the Court under the new fee law. I've been thinking we ought to have a Court of Appeals, and I wondered if your Executive Committee would n't be willing to act as a Court of Appeals for us." Mr. Osborne thought the suggestion a good one, so did the other Directors, and so did Mr. George. Since then a Court of Appeals, composed of three members of the Executive Committee, has sat monthly and heard the cases on appeal of all offending citizens not content with the verdict of their peers. The first cases to come before this Court were those of the unfortunates who had been convicted for the enrichment of the District Attorney and the Judge. Naturally they were acquitted, while the offending District Attorney and Judge were impeached and deposed by the Senate. Since then the cases appealed have not been numerous, and in the great majority the adult Judges have upheld the decisions of the young Judges.

Other people say, "But are n't you afraid the boys and girls will be lax in their moral legislation, especially when some of them have had no moral home training?" Here is the very least danger of all. The sense of the community is sternly moral and the laws reflect it. What adult community could enforce laws prohibiting the use of tobacco and making gambling and obscene conversation felonies? This they are doing.

The law against tobacco was passed during the period when "general badness" was a special qualification for admission. At that time the laws were made by a Congress with an upper and a lower house. That method of lawmaking the citizens have since abandoned for the town meeting. One day "Daddy" George happened to see his friend Jones being escorted to the police station by an officer. Knowing that Jones was a particularly law-abiding citizen, his curiosity was piqued and he went to the police station to find out what could be the charge against him. By the time he reached the jail Jones had already been locked into a cell. As he approached, he heard him exclaim to his fellow prisoners,

"Do youse want ter know why I'm pinched?" They naturally did, and so did Mr. George, who promptly stepped behind the cell block without making his presence known. Jones began, "Well, it happened dis way. Dere was me pal Noonan an' me odder pal Hickey, we belonged to de same bunch down in de city, an' say! but de tree of us could hit de cigarettes in great shape. Well, we came up here an' dem two guys gets elected to de legislature. When dey gets inside dere makin' laws, almos' de very first one dey makes is dat a guy wat smokes is goin' to get ten days in jail. I'm de first guy what's got stung by dis law — dat shows wat yer friends does for yer when dey gets into politicks."

At this point Mr. George silently left the building and hunted up Senator Noonan. When he found him, he said, "Is it true, Noonan, that a law has been passed against the use of tobacco?"

"Sure," replied Noonan; "dat's true all right."

"How did it happen?"

"Well," continued Noonan, "it was like dis. I was elected to make laws for de good

of de crowd, an' Hickey was one of de odders what got elected. De first day dat we had a meetin' of de legislature, one of de senators said what we was dere fer, an' dat it was to look into tings an' make laws ter keep all de guys an' girls from goin' crooked. I looks at Hickey an' I sez, 'Hickey, what do yer tink is 'bout de worst ting fer a bloke? What hurts him more den any odder ting?' 'Sure, it's cigarettes,' sez Hickey. 'What do youse tink?' 'I tink de same,' sez I. Den we looked at one anodder fer a little while rather serious-like, an' den we both laughed. Hickey sez to me, he sez, 'Hev youse got de nerve to make a bill to jug a guy if he smokes?' I knew what he was goin' to crack all right, I was jest goin' to ask him de same ting. 'Sure,' I sez, 'I'll put it over an' try to live up to it, if youse will.' 'All right,' he sez, 'I'm game.' And of course den it was up to me an' I got some of de odder senator guys to vote wid us an' we put it over."

Mr. George looked at him narrowly for a moment and then said, "Say, Noonan, tell me something on the q. t., as between man and man. Are you smoking now?"

Noonan gave him a quick glance and then his eyes fell to the ground. He poked the earth nervously with the toe of his shoe for a few seconds. Suddenly he straightened up, looked him straight in the eye, and said with a broad grin, "Say, Daddy, dat law had n't been passed more 'n five minutes before de cigarette habit come on me de likes I never seen in all my lifetime, but I fought it off for over a day, den I went down to de barn where I had a cigarette bunked. I looked all round to see dat nobody was lookin' an' den I pulled out a match an' lighted up, but before I had took two pulls at it, I felt dat mean dat I wanted to kick myself round de whole place. I tru de ting down an' stamped it in de ground. Honest, I ain't smoked no more from dat time to dis, but jest as you've come up now, you've caught me hevin' de fight of me life from goin' an' smokin' anudder cigarette, 'cause I knows where dere's one bunked."

The girls in the Republic take an equal, although of course not an identical, part with the boys, in the work, in the Government, and in the whole life of the com-

munity. As Mr. George says, "Were there no girls, the place would be more of a monastery than a Republic." For a time the boys excluded the girls from the suffrage in the Republic because the women were excluded in the State. But this, like other undemocratic features of the little community, was given up as it grew and expanded into a real democracy. In the Junior Republic to-day young and old, male and female, rich and poor, great and obscure, mingle together on terms of natural intimacy without vulgar familiarity. Are there no dangers in this? Of course there are dangers. Are there no failures? Of course there are failures. The Junior Republic is no Utopia — far from it! If it were, it would be no proper preparation for living in this world. It is full of imperfections — full of the marks of human weakness. In other words, it is real — merely what the big Republic would be if every citizen could know and understand every other, and if the laws of cause and effect had equally free play.

That the Junior Republic is no Utopia was never more strikingly illustrated than

last summer. The President, the same Sneider, part of whose story was told in the last chapter, resigned and left to go to the student conferences at Northfield, and thence to New York to work at the plumbing trade. Several others left about the same time, most of them leading citizens and some of them high officials. Among the latter was Boutwell, the Judge. A group of newcomers, to whom the Republic idea as yet meant little or nothing, looked upon this sudden exodus of so many of "those having authority" as a providential opportunity to seize the reins of government and run things to please themselves. They promptly organized into a *sub rosa* organization, which was nothing more nor less than the familiar political ring in miniature. A special election had to be held to fill the vacant offices. This was to be preceded by a nominating convention. When the convention met, the boss of the ring succeeded, on some technical pretext or other, in having it indefinitely postponed. Through some mysterious oversight the notices of the postponed meeting reached the members of the ring only. They were

on hand in full force. They had made up the complete ticket before the other citizens got wind of the meeting. Every nominee was a member of the ring. The other citizens protested, but they were unorganized and did not know how to undo what had been done. With the aid of some intimidation, the ring ticket was elected. As soon as the new officials were in the saddle they began to ride roughshod over the little community! The officers of the Republic always receive some pay for their official duties, but not enough to relieve them of the necessity of working at a trade. The new officers first got the taxes raised and then raised their own salaries so that they were relieved of the necessity of working. They smoked, swore, and drank beer. There were stringent laws against all these offenses. But they snapped their fingers at the law because all the machinery for its enforcement was in their own control. They spent most of their time loafing round in their best clothes and smoking cigarettes while their slaves toiled for their support. They formed a shameless plutocracy and exploited all the others. They

enforced the "blue laws" against the others with most unreasonable and arbitrary severity. When one of these unfortunates fell into the toils of the law, a member of the ring would frequently draw him aside and whisper in his ear, "I got a swipe wid de Jedge an' I'll get ye off if you'll come up wid de dough," or words to that effect.

Some of the Directors were shocked and horrified at this scandalous state of affairs. Self-government was well enough, but this sort of thing was intolerable! After all they were legally responsible for the welfare of these boys and girls. This was an emergency which demanded arbitrary and summary action. The good citizens must be protected against these young pirates who had seized the ship of State. Mr. George, supported by those of the Directors whose faith was greatest, urged the policy of "hands off." "Don't let us do anything to protect these young brigands against the righteous indignation of their fellow citizens. Don't let us do anything that may soften the blow when the worm turns and the reaction sets in. Don't give the corrupt government any opportunity to shift

its sins on to the shoulders of adults. Don't do anything to spoil this signal opportunity to teach bad officials and good citizens alike that 'the way of the transgressor is hard.' Give counsel and advice to those who ask it, but don't do their thinking for them. These thoughtless young rascals have set in motion a chain of events which will inevitably give them a vivid lesson in the operation of cause and effect in the moral law. Let nothing be done to prevent their learning this lesson to its bitter end!" So argued Mr. George and the "hands off" policy was followed.

While the ring was at the height of its power, Boutwell returned from his vacation. The inglorious but profitable judicial career of the ring's creature, the Judge *pro tem.*, ceased, and Boutwell resumed his seat. He found himself in the uncomfortable position of being the only honest member of a dishonest Government. His judicial office was of little use because the real malefactors were never arrested and brought before him. He could issue warrants to his heart's content, but there was no one to serve them. The police officers

were in the ring. They refused to obey the Court.

Boutwell gathered about him the older and leading citizens outside the ring and they had frequent earnest conferences as to ways and means of overthrowing the corrupt Government. They began to collect damaging evidence. Boutwell went to Ithaca and conferred with one of the Judges there. Finally, after a day of particularly flagrant scandals, he called his little band of advisers together and said to them, "Fellows, these outrages have got to stop and we've got to stop them. If we can't do it in one way, we've got to do it in another. I've a scheme to swear in some of the huskiest of you fellows as special police officers and then give you warrants for the arrest of every member of the Government from the President down. I'm now going to call up Judge —— of Ithaca and ask him if that would be legal."

He called up the Judge and his companions listened eagerly to Boutwell's end of the conversation. As he put down the receiver, he turned toward them with his jaw hard set and said, "Don't any of you

fellows dare ask me what the Judge said. I'll swear three of you in as special officers and then you go out and make the arrests beginning with the Keeper of the Jail."

The meeting broke up and the special officers scattered with their warrants. Within half an hour they had every officer behind the bars with the exception of the Vice-President. Not one resisted arrest. Boutwell faced the Vice-President in the ante-room of the jail and said, "You appoint Baker Secretary of State, and do it quick!"

The Vice-President, who was then Acting President, complied, and was turned over to a special officer to be in turn locked up. The newly appointed Secretary of State thereupon became Acting President and around him was hastily gathered a provisional government to serve until a special election could be held. The Grand Jury met at once and indicted the imprisoned officials. They were speedily tried. The evidence against them was abundant, and they were committed to jail for terms varying from one to eight months. Since the expiration of their terms they have all done

well, and two of them have sufficiently won back the confidence of their fellow citizens to be again elected to office. One of them, when asked if he would like to get up another graft ring if opportunity offered, replied, "What kind of a fool do you take me for? I've had my medicine and I'm not lookin' for any more."

Superficial observers have sometimes called the Junior Republic irreligious. If they mean by this that it is absolutely non-sectarian and that there is no compulsory church attendance, that of course is true. It could not be otherwise without violating the very principles of liberty and democracy for which the Republic stands. If they mean that there is no religious life in the community, that is most emphatically untrue. There is a very strong religious life. There are among the citizens Catholics, Jews, Unitarians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and other Protestant sects. All are free to worship in their own way, under their own spiritual advisers, or not at all if that is their way. Housemothers and helpers naturally use their influence to interest the citizens in the services and

other religious activities. Quite as naturally, they do not and cannot order them to take part. The value of compulsory religious observances may under any conditions be questioned. The early Spanish explorers converted the Indians to Christianity at the sword's point. That is an extreme example, but all compulsory religious observance involves the same principle. In the Chapel, Sunday-school classes have at times been simultaneously conducted by a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, a Unitarian minister, an Episcopal rector, and a Methodist preacher. Priests, ministers, rabbis, and laymen are cordially invited to come and teach whatever they believe to whoever will attend.

The school life of the Republic is like that of any country village except that the schools are better than in most villages. There is a grammar school and a high school. The citizens attend school in the morning and work on the farm or at their trade in the afternoon, or *vice versa*. There is at present a law that no citizen may stay away from school without the consent of the Principal. This law, like all others,

was of course made by the citizens themselves.

The citizens live in cottages. Each cottage is in charge of a housemother. An enthusiastic visitor once remarked to his citizen guide, "Oh, you have the cottage system here, don't you?" The citizen replied, "We have the cottages, sir, but not the system." The cottages vary as to board, from the "Hotel," a kind of barracks, where the unskilled workers may live on their minimum wage, to the best cottage, where only the skilled workers can afford to live. The housemother may take whom she pleases. Likewise her boarders may come and go at their pleasure.

The Republic is one place in the world where one may see boys and girls as they really are. There are no restraints and prohibitions except those self-imposed by the community. That gives the boys and girls an openness and naturalness of manner which makes acquaintance easy. It is something the manner of the man of the world without the sophistication. It is the characteristic manner of self-governing boys and girls. This free and natural

atmosphere makes it particularly easy for the volunteer workers, who come to the Republic from all over the country, and stay weeks, months, or even years, to give and take effectively. They do not have to waste time boring through artificial barriers of servility, suspicion, and restraint. Some of the best people of the country, in every sense, come to the Republic as volunteers, and their friendly contact with the citizens forms one of the most potent influences of the community.

The rise in the moral scale of an unregenerate newcomer begins by his turning from the doing of wrong for policy's sake to doing right for policy's sake. From that safe if somewhat mundane starting-point he is led gradually upward and onward by the forces about him, with of course many flounderings and back-slidings, until finally he reaches the high ethical plane of doing right for its own sake. To some, of course, this highest plane is unattainable. No influences can develop in a person something which is not there to be developed. The influences which bring about these gradual ethical transformations are: first, the self-

respect which comes through self-support; second, the sense of responsibility which comes through the exercise of the functions of citizenship; third, the awakened conscience which comes through ethical and religious instruction; and, fourth, the inspiration of the friendship of the best kind of men and women.

The working of these forces was strikingly shown in the case of Sneider, the thrice elected President, because with him there appeared to be nothing upon which to build. At first he appeared to have no sense of the difference between right and wrong. A few weeks after his election to the Presidency, he came to Mr. George and said, "Daddy, I'm goin' to leave."

"Why," said Mr. George, "you're not going to lie down on your job as President, are you? What's the meaning of this? Why are you going to leave?"

"No, Daddy, I don't want to be a quitter, but I got to make my way an' I can get a good job in a grocery store if I take it now, and Mr. Derrick (the Superintendent) has give me permission to go an' take it."

Accordingly Sneider left, took the position, and shortly joined a mission church in the city where he was working. Finding him a strong leader, the superintendent of the Sunday school gave him a class of young toughs who were the terrors of the school. They were as submissive as kittens under Sneider's leadership. One night he turned the class into a kind of experience meeting. He said to the boys, "Now, you kids has all done things as you know you had n't oughter done. Now, every one of ye stand up and spit it out. There ain't no use tryin' to live good till you got the bad tings you done off your chest. Come on now, kids, an' spit it out, an' den cut it out!" Straightway, every youngster present "spit it out," and promised "to cut it out."

A day or two after this experience meeting, Mr. George was walking through the Republic about dusk when a hand was placed on his arm, and, wheeling round, he saw Sneider standing before him in great embarrassment.

"Well, what's the meaning of this, Dick?" he asked.

"Come round to the jail to-morrow mornin' an' I'll tell ye all about it, Daddy. Now, I'm goin' down to Bouty's to get a warrant for my own arrest."

This was the story he told Mr. George in his cell the next morning. A week or two after his election as President, he had committed a crime. The temptation was tremendous. There was practically no possibility of his being found out. Old habits momentarily reasserted themselves. After this act, the honor and respect which his fellow citizens paid him as their President became intolerable. He had partially succeeded in his new surroundings in quieting his conscience, when the experience meeting came and undid all his efforts. In concluding his story he said, "I knew as I could n't never look dem kids in the face again till I had spit it out, same as I made them, an' come back an' took my medicine." After the expiration of his term in jail, Sneider so thoroughly regained the confidence of his fellow citizens as to be twice again elected President.

People very naturally ask, "What are the results of the Republic training? Do

the citizens make good in later life?" There are among the ex-citizens, as one says in telling fortunes, "rich men, poor men, beggar men, thieves; doctors, lawyers, merchants, priests." Fortunately the beggar men and thieves are in a very small minority. Beside doctors, lawyers, and ministers there are a large percentage of civil engineers, architects, musicians, librarians, teachers, mechanics, farmers, trained nurses, and stenographers. Not only are most of them doing better than the average in their business or professional work, but practically all of them are taking an active part in the civic life of their various communities. Every one of them is an independent in politics. The following figures are based upon a tabulation of the first seven hundred and eighty-seven boys and girls to pass through the Republic.

The first group is figured on the basis of intimate knowledge. In this group there are: —

Boys		*Girls*	
Excellent	31	Excellent	26
Good	131	Good	94
Fair	78	Fair	46
Bad	23	Bad	12

While Mr. George is not in intimate touch with those in the second group, he feels reasonably safe in assigning them to the following classifications.

Boys		*Girls*	
Good	85	Good	45
Fair	60	Fair	20
Bad	10	Bad	11

By combining both groups we get: —

Boys		*Girls*	
Excellent	31	Excellent	26
Good	216	Good	139
Fair	138	Fair	66
Bad	33	Bad	23

Of the remainder 22 have died, and 93 are unaccounted for.

Combining boys and girls we get: —

Excellent	57
Good	355
Fair	204
Bad	56

By the ordinary method of computation used by institutions which record all former charges as successes who are not positive failures, we see that over two thirds of the ex-citizens would be rated as successful.

During the last dozen years the Junior Republic idea has grown from a single community at Freeville, New York, into a great and growing movement already established in six States of the Union and in one foreign country. The second Republic, the William T. Carter Junior Republic, was established by Mrs. William T. Carter, in memory of her husband, at Redington, Pennsylvania, in 1899. The pioneer colony of citizens and helpers set out from Freeville in the spring of that year. In the fall of the same year a group of Washington and Baltimore people, who had for some years closely studied the Freeville Republic, founded one of their own at Annapolis Junction, Maryland, which is known as the National Junior Republic. In April, 1905, a group of the junior citizens from Freeville, that is, those below the voting age, which is sixteen, set out for Litchfield, Connecticut, where they started the George Junior Republic of Connecticut on a farm left for the purpose by Miss Emily Buell, of Litchfield. Three years later the National Association of Junior Republics was formed. The original Re-

public at Freeville, the Carter Republic, the National Republic, and the Litchfield Republic made up the nucleus of this organization.

That same year, a pioneer party from Freeville landed in Southern California and founded at Chino the California George Junior Republic. In 1909 another party of pioneers went from Freeville to Grove City, Pennsylvania, where they established the George Junior Republic of Western Pennsylvania. A year later another band of colonists went from Freeville to Flemington Junction, New Jersey, and founded there the New Jersey George Junior Republic.

In March 1912 the Strawbridge George Junior Republic, with a group of girl pioneer citizens, was established under the auspices of Mrs. Strawbridge-Brophy at Moorestown, New Jersey. A similar community has just been established in England under the auspices of Mr. George Montague on a farm given for the purpose by his uncle, the Earl of Sandwich. This will probably be known as the "Junior Commonwealth," and the association maintaining it will, in all probability, be in some

manner affiliated with the national organization in this country.

It is the purpose of the National Association of Junior Republics to act as a clearing-house of information and advice for all existing Republics, to maintain a training-school for prospective citizens and helpers to focus and guide the Republic movement and eventually to establish at least one such community in every State of the Union.[1]

It is comparatively easy to start Junior Republics and to secure for them the requisite backing. It is very difficult to find the right kind of people to direct the work. It is easy to find boys and girls capable of governing themselves. It is difficult to find adults who have the requisite faith and breadth of vision to allow them to do so in fact as well as in name. The art of running a Junior Republic is not to run it at all. This is a difficult art to learn, and hence the necessity of the training school where it is taught under the supervision of the originator of the Republic idea.

[1] Mr. George is the National Director of the Association. The office of the Secretary is in New York City.

CHAPTER VI

GIRL CITIZENS

The generally accepted theory that there should be absolute or nearly absolute separation of the sexes between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one Mr. George brands as not only a mistake, but a crime. It is contrary to nature. It creates an abnormal and dangerous sex consciousness. Hence there is no such segregation in the Junior Republics. The girls live in separate cottages, but except for that, they mingle as freely with the boys as in any town where the moral tone is high without being prudish. They work together in the schools. They serve together in the Government. They sit together in the Chapel. They dance together in the gymnasium. The boys give parties in their cottages to which they invite the girls, and the girls give parties in their cottages to which they invite the boys. Both in work and play

there is between them a spontaneous comradeship.

There is a girl problem as well as a boy problem, and when the girl becomes a problem, hers is the more difficult. While in general it may be claimed about girls as about boys that there are no good girls and no bad girls, the extremes in the case of girls are much further apart. The nursery rhyme, "There was a little girl who had a little curl," etc., naïvely expresses a biological truth. This tendency to extremes may be traced to the conditions and traditions which have surrounded the sex from immemorial times. It is the product of sex heredity. Civilization has always been dominated by men. In its relation to women it has been as full of strange paradoxes and violent antitheses as have been the relations of individual men to individual women. Just as one man beats his wife as a slave while another worships his beyond all human creatures, so civilization has alternately abused woman as a downtrodden beast of burden, or sport of men's passions, and all but worshiped her as a human divinity. Is it any wonder that an

immemorial sex heredity of such extreme vicissitudes should have produced a sex tendency to extremes?

While a relatively few favored girls are rationally protected by their parents, very many more are driven into danger by the harshness of well-meant protection. Others are brought up in surroundings which while not vicious are viciously artificial. They are saturated with false conceptions of life. Their sense of values is warped by artificial standards. By such parents the Bible teaching has in effect been thus inverted, "What doth it profit a man to save his own soul, if he cannot keep up appearances." Still other girls whose parents are easygoing are protected in theory rather than in fact. But the most significant fact is the constantly increasing number who early leave their homes to go into industrial, commercial, or professional life and are thrown entirely upon their own resources both for support and protection. Whether this is a good or an evil tendency is a merely academic question. It is an unalterable condition and must be faced as such.

To separate the sexes is to create conditions entirely unnatural and abnormal. To teach them to live together without prudery, on the one hand, or licentiousness, on the other, is to solve instead of evading one of the most difficult problems of life. Is there not grave danger in allowing boys and girls to mingle together so freely? Of course there is. Is there not some sex trouble as a result? Of course, there is. One hundred per cent of success is not to be expected in this world in solving any problem, much less the most difficult one to which human nature is heir. Were the boys and girls separated the solution of this problem would not even be attempted. As it is, it is frankly faced and successfully solved in about ninety-nine cases out of one hundred. While the dangers of congregation are great they are not as great, measured in terms of the welfare of the individual, as the dangers of segregation. In too many cases such dangers are measured in terms of the welfare of an institution, which is a very different matter.

Obviously the Republic training is particularly valuable to girls who have their

way to make in the world. The majority of the Republic girls have been thrown practically on their own resources. Some of them are orphans with too much spirit to be willing to be supported by friends or relatives. Others would be far better off were they orphans. To escape a dissolute father or mother is the reason many a girl enters a Junior Republic. The great majority of such girls have not only made fine records as workers and citizens while in the Republics, but have been successful after leaving.

One such girl at the age of sixteen discovered to her horror that her mother was a prostitute. She left home at once and got a place as a servant. Two years later she heard of the Freeville Republic, visited it, and entered as a citizen. After she had been there some weeks she asked permission to enter her younger sister, "no questions asked," provided she could get hold of her. The authorities had faith in her and consented. She thereupon induced her younger sister to run away from home also, and brought her to the Republic. The mother was, of course, highly incensed and threat-

ened to use legal means to get back the younger daughter. The older girl threatened a countersuit, for which she had such evidence that the mother was only too glad to let the matter drop. The sisters had happy and successful careers in the Republic and both graduated from the high school. The older one is now a trained nurse and the younger a teacher. This is a typical rather than an exceptional case.

In one of the early elections at the Freeville Republic a certain girl was about to deposit her ballot in the ballot box when she was challenged by one of the boy candidates. The election was a close one and this boy happened to know that she was going to vote against him. He challenged her vote on the ground that women were not permitted to vote in New York State, and that since the Republic had no law on the subject, the State law held. This was made a test case in the Republic Court and the Court upheld the boy's contention. Thereupon, both this girl's ballot and the ballots of all the other girls were thrown out.

Max Brown, one of the newly elected members of the Legislature, was much

incensed at this exclusion of the girls from the suffrage which up to that time they had exercised as a matter of course. He announced to the girls that he would introduce a bill giving them the ballot. True to his word he introduced such a bill and stoutly defended it with the familiar suffrage arguments. Doty, the lad who had challenged the vote of the girl who was against him, and a fellow Senator by the name of Reed bitterly opposed the measure in the Senate, but it was carried by a majority of one. It needed only the President's signature to become a law. Senator Doty drew Senator Reed one side and whispered, "That bill must never become a law, for if it does we are done for politically. We've got to get busy and see that the girls have a change of sentiment before it reaches the President, because I know he'll sign it if he thinks the girls really want to vote."

The two young politicians racked their brains until finally Reed said, "I have it. We'll call a mass meeting of the girls an' tell 'em it's unladylike to vote. That'll scare 'em."

They then went to a few of the leading spirits among the girls and said very confidentially, "We want to see just a few of you leading girls in the chapel tent in an hour from now. No boys are to be admitted."

At the appointed time every girl in the Republic was there and the police had a lively time to keep the boys out. Reed mounted the platform and said, "Now, girls, we wanted to say a few things to you which we did n't want published to the whole place, so we kept the boys out. Of course we realize it 's quite natural that you should think you 'd like to vote, but there 's one thing which you must certainly have overlooked. If you had given the matter second thought we know that you would have realized it. I'll tell you a secret." And lowering his voice to a loud whisper he said, "It is n't ladylike to vote!" He continued with an adroit presentation of some of the stock arguments against woman's suffrage and concluded with this appeal, "Senator Doty has two sisters here in this Republic to-day, and he has told me, upon his word of honor as a gentleman,

that it would give him the deepest mortification to see his two sisters compelled to walk up to the polling-place and vote just like they was boys. Oh, girls! as one who is deeply interested in your welfare and that of this whole Republic, I most earnestly urge you to draw up a petition to the President to veto the suffrage bill and so protect you from being obliged to do anything so unladylike as to vote."

The girls appeared confused for a moment, when one of the leaders among them got up and said, "Girls, if Senator Doty and Senator Reed don't think it's nice for us to vote, there must be something to it because there are n't any citizens in the whole Republic that knows what's what more than what they do. So I think we ought to take their advice in this."

This carried the majority. Paper and writing materials were produced, the petition framed and signed within the next few minutes. Half a dozen or more rebels stoutly refused to sign and were treated with appropriate scorn by the other girls for their unladylike behavior. Three girls were appointed a committee to wait upon

the President with the petition. They found him almost in the act of signing the bill. Reading the petition over carefully he said, "I was just going to make this bill a law, but seeing that you girls don't really want to vote, after all, I'll veto it."

A few weeks later there was a new election for legislators, and both Doty and Reed were returned to the Senate. A question of taxation came up and Reed proposed that each industrial class, as the basis of representation, be obliged to raise a fixed and equal sum. The boys' industrial classes were carpentering, farming, and landscape gardening. The girls' were cooking, dressmaking, and millinery. The boys averaged thirty to a class, while the girls had only fifteen. Obviously under this arrangement the girls were to pay twice as much per capita in taxes as the boys. In spite of its injustice, or possibly because of it, the bill was rushed through the Legislature and signed by the President.

Filled with righteous indignation some of the leading girls sought out Senator Brown, who had introduced the suffrage bill, and burst out, "This new law is un-

just! Doty and Reed are just as mean as they can be! They pretended to be our friends and then went an' got this law passed that makes us pay double taxes."

"Well, girls," remarked Brown, "it strikes me it serves you right! If you'd let the President sign my bill giving you the right to vote you could have defeated Doty and Reed for reëlection. But now it's too late. You must pay your taxes or go to jail."

"You bet it serves them right!" chorused the half-dozen rebels who had refused to sign the anti-suffrage petition.

Then the very girl who had taken the initiative in getting the petition signed stepped forward and said, "You are right, Brown. We have acted like fools same as lots of women in the Big Republic have. But can't we just be honest and admit they fooled us and try again to get the vote? Won't you forgive us and go an' make another of your nice speeches an' get another bill through for us? You may tell 'em we were fools an' now we know it, and that we want a chance at Doty and Reed and the others as voted for that mean tax bill the next time they run for office."

Brown consented to champion their cause again. Using the manifest injustice of the tax law as his chief argument, he got a suffrage bill passed by a big majority and signed by the President.

During the early years of the Republic there was a law that all special laws should automatically pass out of existence on the last day of each year. On New Year's Day such of these laws as commanded the approval of the majority would be voted back on to the statute books. The girls' suffrage law went out of existence in this way at the close of the year and was not reënacted. The next spring, as was the custom in the early years of the Republic, over a hundred boys and girls came up from New York to spend the summer. They were called "summer citizens." The two political parties of this period were known as the "People's Party" and the "Free Tin Party." The two chief planks in the platform of the People's Party were "sound money" and "votes for girls." The Free Tin Party advocated "the free and unlimited coinage of tin money" and opposed "votes for girls." The plausible

political promises of something for nothing made by the adroit leaders of the Free Tin Party won to their side the great majority of the summer citizens, and hence they won at the polls. The Free Tin Party plunged the Government into bankruptcy and the Republic Association had to step in, practically as a receiver, until the little commonwealth was again on a sound financial basis.

The "votes for girls" advocates naturally made political capital out of the disastrous failure for which their opponents were responsible. And after the summer citizens had left, the girls' suffrage bill was reënacted by a two-thirds vote of all the boy voters. The last day of the year it again passed out of existence, and on New Year's Day again failed of reënactment. It was some time before the girls again won the vote. During this time, however, they kept up a continual agitation. Finally they added to their demand for the right to vote a demand for a girl Judge and a girl District Attorney to handle all cases in which girls only were involved. This proved a popular measure and was

almost unanimously passed by the Legislature in which, of course, boys only sat. Even the boy who had always most bitterly opposed girls' suffrage voted for this bill, but in so doing he said, "I want it understood right straight, and I want this statement to go in the minutes, that while I do think it's all right for there to be a girl Judge and District Attorney for girls' cases, that does n't mean that I'm beginning to be in favor of the girls voting, because I am not, and I'll fight that always every time I get a chance."

As time went on and the Government became better established and its policies more settled, the majority of the citizens came to feel that they would like to have the special laws remain on the statute books until repealed instead of having them automatically expire on the last day of each year. Accordingly they began to agitate amending the Constitution to this effect. At once the boys who believed in girls' suffrage let it be known that they would never vote for such an amendment unless a girls' suffrage clause was also inserted. By this time the town meeting

had been substituted for the Legislature. A constitutional amendment could be passed by a two-thirds vote of all the boy citizens assembled in town meeting. At length an election occurred in which "Votes for Girls" was the sole issue. After a stirring contest, in which the girls campaigned vigorously for the champions of their cause, the suffrage candidates were elected. They at once redeemed their platform pledge and secured the suffrage amendment.

From that day to this there has always been a group of girls actively engaged in the political life of the Republic, and this group has practically always been found on the side of good government when there has been an alignment on ethical questions. On the other hand, a large percentage of the girls have neither attended the town meetings nor shown any interest in public questions. These indifferent girls have been a source of constant exasperation to their more public-spirited sisters.

One of the girls active in the Government once introduced a bill in a town meeting that failure to vote without an

adequate excuse should constitute a misdemeanor. In speaking to her bill she said, "If I thought there would be any chance of the bill passing with the word 'felony' in place of 'misdemeanor,' I would put it in. I think any citizen who can vote, but won't, ought to go to jail or have his right to vote taken away entirely." In conclusion she said, "I am particularly ashamed of the number of girls who don't vote, and I'm going to be honest and say that the reason I am specially anxious to have this bill pass is so's to teach them a lesson. I am ashamed to say that the girls are more regardless of the privilege of voting than the boys." In spite of this appeal, or perhaps because of it, the bill did not pass.

For the girls to vote and hold office is now just as much a part of the Republic life as the principle of self-government itself. Many girls have distinguished themselves as public officials. While no girl has as yet filled the office of President, there have been several girl Vice-Presidents. In fact, the Vice-President at this writing is a girl. The President, the Vice-President, and the boy Judge make up a Board of

Commissioners having charge of such matters as the public health, the appointment and discharge of police officers and all officers connected with the prisons, the paroling of the prisoners, and their care. At the approach of one of these young Commissioners a group of sturdy prisoners, who have been terrors to the police outside, will immediately put on their best behavior. And if it happens to be the girl Commissioner they are no less circumspect. In fact, one of the boy prisoners recently remarked, "We can sometimes 'shy one over' on the boy Commissioners, but that girl Commissioner knocks the spots out of them when it comes to having eyes all over her head."

The Vice-President presides at the town meetings. Sometimes there is turbulence over an issue which stirs deep feeling and the chairman has to call upon the sergeant-at-arms or even the police to subdue some violent debater or unsympathetic listener. Never as yet has a girl presiding officer been obliged to call upon the police to assist her in keeping order.

In short, the traditions of the inconse-

AT WORK IN THE BAKERY

DOING BUSINESS AT THE STORE

quence and lack of executive, business, and judicial ability inherent in the feminine mind have not stood the test of practice. Not only have certain girls proved as effective in these respects as certain boys, but the average efficiency among the girls in these directions has been as high as the average among the boys. As Judges their decisions have been as fair, as executive officers their leadership has been as sane and strong, and in their business relations they have been as businesslike.

A few years ago all the ex-citizens of the Freeville Republic were classified into these four groups: Excellent, Good, Fair, and Bad. True to their sex tendency to extremes a larger percentage of girls than boys was found in the extreme groups — the Excellent and the Bad. The percentage of girls in these groups closely corresponded to the percentage of boys in the groups — Good and Fair.

There is a type of girl, often bright and attractive, whose tendency to moral perversion appears to have completely swallowed up her self-respect. That such a girl is a menace in a community where boys

and girls are together goes without saying. That she ought to be saved to society also goes without saying. Few people are willing to help her. Many will give generously of their time and money to help boys who are perverted morally, but few will lift a hand for girls with these tendencies. Women are even more uncharitable toward such girls than men. There are, of course, exceptions, but that is the rule.

For these girls segregation is as necessary as congregation for those who are normal. But as they cannot be segregated for life, powerful influences must be brought to bear upon them while they are fenced off from the rest of humanity. The first of these influences should be the necessity for self-support. If in a place where they must work or starve, the struggle for the necessities of life must necessarily fill a great part of their time and thought. This struggle should not, of course, be as hard as the battle of the "sweat-shop," nor should it, on the other hand, be made too easy. It should be made possible for the workers to advance as they become skilled, from the winning of the mere necessities of

life to luxuries and a bank account. They should govern themselves as completely as do the citizens of a Junior Republic. In short, their community should be a girls' commonwealth, of girls, for girls, and by girls.

Before leaving their community altogether these girls should go, accompanied by their housemothers, to the services of the neighboring village church and they should attend the village entertainments of the higher order. They should, of course, have entertainments and social affairs in their own community, to which not only ladies, but gentlemen of all ages should be invited. Such guests as well as the regular helpers should have it impressed upon them that it was not only their duty but a high privilege to help these young women to adjust themselves to society in a natural and normal way. This kind of healthful contact with the outside world should be gradually increased as the time for leaving the community approaches, in order that the transition from their own little commonwealth to the great one shall be as much as possible a natural evolution. Cer-

tainly under such conditions all girls who had in them any capacity, however deeply buried, for leading normal lives could eventually be reinstated in society. As soon as he can secure the requisite financial backing and a woman with the great qualities which such a work would demand, Mr. George hopes to establish a community of this kind.

CHAPTER VII

EVERY BOY LIKE EVERY OTHER

Boys of all classes and conditions of society the world over have the same general characteristics. The benevolent person who assumes that all normal boys are good makes as great a mistake as the vindictive person who assumes that they are all bad. They are neither the one nor the other. The term "angelic savages" aptly describes them. No normal boy with freedom of choice ever confines himself to a set or class of society. He has companions from homes representing the most various and widely divergent standards of wealth, culture, education, and lineage. These companions he rates entirely by their personal qualities without regard to the social standing of their families. Neither riches nor poverty, religion, politics, or nationality, and in many instances not even color, raises the grim spectre of prejudice. Normal boys are natural democrats. They are

democratic by instinct, not by principle. The gardener's son may be respected or despised by the son of his employer, but whether he is respected or despised will depend upon himself rather than upon his father's social status.

As is well known, hero-worship is a dominant characteristic among boys. Their heroes among themselves are mainly of two kinds — those brilliant in play, and those who have the qualities of dare-devil leadership. The joker is a minor hero hardly worthy of a place beside the other two. But when a boy combines the attributes of all three, he is not only sure to be a great leader of boys, but he is practically sure to become a great leader of men. Whether he becomes a great general, a great statesman, or a great criminal will depend upon the conditions and opportunities which surround him.

If you were to go into a playground and ask any number of the boys what they were going to do when they grew up, most of them would probably reply that they did not know or had not decided. If, however, you asked them what they would like to do,

and succeeded in winning their confidence, they would tell you that they wanted to be soldiers, sailors, policemen, firemen, engineers, aviators, or in some occupation involving action and physical danger. Probably not one would express a wish to be a teacher, physician, lawyer, or clergyman. Spectacular exploits of physical prowess and deeds of dramatic daring fill the imaginations and dominate the aspirations of most boys. Their heroes in history are not the framers of constitutions nor the orators, but the men who have stormed batteries and faced violent death in every form. They admire Alexander Hamilton, for instance, not because he organized our national banking system, but because he was a brave soldier and dared to face Aaron Burr in a duel.

Boys demand in their heroes the primitive virtues. They must have great physical prowess, they must be physically brave to the point of foolhardiness, and they must be loyal unto death to their friends and companions. As a result of these primitive standards, all manner of rogues, robbers, outlaws, and bandits take their place

in the boy's gallery of heroes to the exclusion of many real heroes, who, while they may not lack elemental virtues, have little or no occasion for their display. How many worthy gentlemen, pillars of law and order, felt in their boyhood days a secret sympathy for Jesse James? Did they not feel a thrill of exultation every time the intrepid outlaw eluded the authorities? If he must be caught at last, they wanted him to be shot down in his tracks with his "boots on" after a terrible slaughter of sheriffs and deputy sheriffs. Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn are perennially true to boy nature. They are not nice boys nor good boys nor bad boys — they are just boys.

Boys instinctively organize into gangs in the city and into bands in the country. Mr. George was himself an active member of a predatory band known as the Red Brotherhood. Strapped to his belt underneath his coat he carried a worn-out pistol which, had he ever attempted to discharge it, would have been much more likely to kill him than any one else. The Red Brotherhood, like many other similar organizations, use to have never-to-be-forgotten

secret meetings, midnight raids, and imaginary hair's-breadth escapes from terrible dangers. All the neighboring apple orchards, grape arbors, and strawberry patches were at one time or another swooped down upon and denuded by this band, in the councils of which the young William R. George had great weight. A certain Judge, in making a plea for the admission of a boy to the George Junior Republic, once said, "I feel a personal interest in this young man. When he was brought before me the other day for robbing an apple orchard, I discovered on investigation that it was the same orchard which I once robbed." Were Mr. George and the Judge young criminals? Hardly! — but doubtless they both had strong criminal tendencies which could have been developed.

Another characteristic of boys is an instinctive rebellion against laws in the making of which they have no share. This feeling, however, is not peculiar to boys. In most of us the "Thou shalt not" quickly arouses the "I will." Who has not had an impulse to walk on the grass quickened by

a sign, "Keep off the grass"? Mark Twain tells of standing quietly beside Niagara Falls contemplating the beauties of nature when suddenly he noticed a sign which read, "Throw no rocks. Dangerous to those beneath." He says he was at once seized with an almost irresistible impulse to hurl great rocks over the precipice and then tremblingly await the cries of the maimed victims beneath.

Curiosity is another trait which is not only common to boys, but to all humanity, and one which is closely related to the instinct of rebellion against arbitrary authority. Few people can see a "No admittance" sign upon a building or door without feeling a vagrant impulse to penetrate the mystery. A line of perhaps a dozen men in single file once walked up Broadway carrying signs on poles high above their heads. Each sign read, "Don't look at my back!" On each back was the inscription, "Go to K's to buy your shirts!" Mr. George followed this procession for two blocks and in that distance only two persons failed to disobey the injunction, "Don't look at my back!" One of these was an old gentleman

with double spectacles and the other was a wild-eyed individual frantically absorbed in a conversation with himself. Mr. George says, "I shall forget many things I ought to remember, but I shall never forget to go to K's to buy my shirts." The advertiser who sent this procession up Broadway was a practical psychologist.

When wise parents, teachers, and friends say, "Don't smoke," "Don't drink," and "Don't read dime novels," the impulse to do each of these things irresistibly bobs up in the mind of the normal boy. The impulse is not born of "pure cussedness." It is not because parents and teachers disapprove. It is out of curiosity to see what these much-talked-of sins can be like. Just as adults crowd into court-rooms to see notorious criminals, so boys want to experience the notorious wrongs against which they are warned.

Bundle these characteristics together and put them into a boy full of health and energy and turn him loose in a community where he has no responsibility either for the making and enforcement of the laws or for his own support, and he is sure to make

matters uncomfortably lively for the law-abiding and the law-enforcing. To such boys the ordinary jog-trot of everyday life is intolerably monotonous. They are continually trying to make life more exciting. One of the most satisfying forms of excitement is to work some adult into a fury of impotent rage by depredations upon his property or insulting epithets, and then get him to give chase. For instance, a party of boys will come along and tip over a receptacle full of refuse which a street-cleaner has carefully gathered together. With all the angry threats and gesticulations essential to spectacular effect the street-cleaner will start in pursuit and in a last gasp of impotent rage throw his broom after the fleeing boys. From the boy's point of view the incident was a complete success. The street-cleaner could not have played his part better had he rehearsed it for months. But to be pursued by an officer of the law gives the most intense and satisfying thrills. Comparatively few boys of whatever class of society grow up, in cities at any rate, without having at least one such experience to enliven the tedium of ordinary life. Such

trivial and innocent experiences as these are not infrequently the stepping-stones to serious and chronic law-breaking.

Boys may be divided into these six groups: The street gang or the "hoodlums" (bands in the country); second, the group just above the gang; third, the great majority of public-school boys; fourth, the boarding-school and college group; fifth, the sons of the rich; and sixth, the self-made group. With the exception of the self-made youths, of whom naturally there are relatively few, the evolution of these groups is very similar. The gang begins to disintegrate when one of its members, because of the death of his father or for any other reason, has to go to work and contribute to the support of the family. He assures "the bunch" that he will continue loyal and will give them all his free time. In spite of assurances and intentions, just as soon as he begins to work his ways and the ways of the gang begin to part. For a time he spends his evenings, Sundays and holidays with his former companions, but little by little he becomes less interested in their exploits and likewise less interest-

ing to them. Later he marries and after that no longer takes part in their mischievous or lawless acts. There follows a family of children with its added responsibilities. So far from being a model husband and father he may be cruel, shiftless, and intemperate. Even so his responsibilities as husband, parent, and bread-winner, no matter how inadequately met, give him a different outlook on life. When it comes to a showdown he will almost surely array himself on the side of law and order and against such of his former companions as have continued their depredations on property.

The group just above the gang or band is made up of the boys who are problems in the public schools. They are trouble-makers; they will not study and they are truants. They do, however, spend enough time in school, or at some work or other, so that they have not time to become well organized. Their "bunch" has a gangy semblance, but it is not a real gang. Such boys are in their dull moments sojourners on the borderland of respectability — a territory into which the real gang member

never deviates. The boys in this group come for the most part from poor families. They must face the stern realities of life at an early age. They are frequently put to work by their parents as soon as the law permits. After they begin to work and to aid in the family support, their point of view rapidly changes. Their admiration for dare-deviltry and scorn of old fogies vanish; and, presto! they are old fogies themselves, although as unconscious of the transformation as they are oblivious of their former viewpoint.

The third group is composed of the great majority of public-school boys. They attend school with reasonable regularity, learn their lessons fairly well, behave with tolerable decorum, and usually pass their examinations. They make up, in short, the rank and file of the hopeful youth of the nation. Almost all of them graduate from grammar schools; a large number attend high schools for a time; a fair proportion graduate from high schools; and a few go to college. As their parents are, for the most part, in moderately comfortable circumstances, they do not have to meet the real-

ities of life at so early an age. Consequently, although never so lawless as their fellows in the group just below, they do not as soon abandon the admiration of dare-deviltry and ally themselves with the forces of law and order.

The boys of the boarding-school and college group come, for the most part, from the comfortable and well-to-do homes. They have the same love of excitement and admiration for dare-deviltry as all the rest. Their further removal from economic pressure gives them a longer adolescence. Most of them do not have to face the bread-and-butter problem until after they have graduated from college. Up to that time most of them have had no real responsibilities and hence naturally have not become responsible. After they leave college the necessity for self-support, or the care of inherited estates, transforms their point of view from that of the irresponsible pleasure-seeker to that of the work-a-day world. Although they have had such prolonged boyhoods themselves, they soon forget the boy's point of view, just as do all the others.

The boys of the fifth group, the sons of

the rich, are usually seriously handicapped in their development by traditions, conventions, governesses, and tutors. They suffer from over-protection on the part of conscientious parents who feel the great responsibility of so training them that they will measure up to the family traditions. They suffer from under-protection on the part of self-indulgent parents who put the pursuit of immediate pleasures ahead of everything else and leave the upbringing of their children to persons carelessly hired for the purpose. While fortunately there are many rich parents who do not fall into either the one or the other category, the majority undoubtedly do. Even where the home conditions are ideal, there is so much artificiality in the lives of these boys that it is difficult for them to recognize or understand real life. The servility with which they are treated by many of those with whom they come in contact is a subtly demoralizing influence. They seldom have any idea of the value of money. Their fathers sign their names to bits of paper, and lo! their immediate desires are satisfied. The father's bankbook is like Alad-

din's lamp and the whole atmosphere of their lives is more like that of the "Arabian Nights" than real life. They come to look upon getting something for nothing as the natural order of events.

Now, while it is commonly recognized that getting something for nothing is demoralizing to the poor, it is not recognized that it is equally demoralizing to the rich. In his close observation of boys of all classes Mr. George has discovered a marked similarity between those of the extremely rich and those of the extremely poor. The sons of the rich are dependent upon the benevolence of their parents. The sons of the poor are dependent upon benevolent patrons or societies. While from the point of view of social conventions there is a world of difference between being supported by a parent and receiving alms, nevertheless both groups of recipients are dependents. Dependence on the part of the physically fit, exclusive of course of young children, has a strong tendency to blight character and arrest normal development.

Fortunately most of these fellows go into business shortly after leaving college.

While they are not, of course, faced with the salutary alternative, — work or starve, — they are faced with responsibilities and they do in most instances come to a fairly speedy realization that neither inherited millions nor traditions of family greatness will win them positions of real honor and respect without personal industry and worth. After they have become immersed in affairs, they, like all the rest, soon forget the point of view of their boyhood. Naturally they are firm believers in the sanctity of property and property rights.

The last and smallest but not the least group is that of the self-made boys who become the self-made men. They early face the hard facts of life. With the same tastes as other boys, they have not the same opportunity to indulge them. Instead of committing depredations on other people's property as a lark, they must earn some of their own as a hard necessity. Jesse James and his ilk are no heroes to them, because they menace property. They early become the stanchest defenders of property rights. As they have never had the chance to develop the point of view of the

boy, they naturally cannot be expected to understand it when they come to manhood. The proverbial strong qualities of the typical self-made man are the natural result of the necessity for self-support and self-reliance. The proverbial unlovely qualities of the same type of man are the natural result of the unrelieved fierceness of the competitive into which he was plunged at too early an age. Had he had the advantage of the same character-building forces a little later and under more wholesome and less relentless conditions he might have developed strong qualities without the undesirable accompanying traits.

Mr. George has a theory, based upon long and close observation, as to the relative parts played by heredity and environment in determining the character of the individual. It is this: while both heredity and environment play an important part, in the case of individuals with strong will power heredity is not so large a factor as is commonly supposed. The volitions of such an individual are stronger than his inherited tendencies. He may at his pleasure rise above them, fall below them, or follow

them. While he will inevitably show occasional gleams of hereditary traits, he can and will banish them whenever he so determines. With individuals of average or moderate will power, heredity plays a larger part. They are less able to resist the hereditary bent. Their individual choice is not so large a factor in determining the course of their lives. With weak-willed persons, heredity is a very large and perhaps in most cases the determining factor. Strength of will is not monopolized by any class or condition of society. All degrees of it, from the strongest to the weakest, are found in all sorts and conditions of families.

The following is a hypothetical example of the operation of heredity and environment. A family composed of father, mother, and ten boys live in a tenement in one of the worst sections of New York City. The father and mother are both intemperate and exceedingly shiftless, but not criminal. Three of the boys are in institutions for the feeble-minded, two are mentally weak but not sufficiently so to be rated as feeble-minded, while four of the remainder possess moderate and average will power.

They are shiftless and thriftless to a marked degree; plainly chips of the old block. The tenth boy acts like a demon incarnate. He is vicious, a terror to the police, and the leader of his gang. He seems headed for the electric chair. An investigator comes across this unhappy family and thus comments upon it: "This family exemplifies the power of heredity in its worst aspect. The parents are shiftless and worthless. Their parents before them seem to have been of the same calibre. Three of the children are in institutions for the feeble-minded and two of the others ought to be. Four of the remaining five have average intelligence and might become useful and respectable if they could be placed in proper environment. The tenth boy is a notable illustration of the curse of bad heredity. He will give much trouble to society. He exults in the most flagrant acts of lawlessness. Although not yet fifteen years old, he may fairly be called a hardened and irreclaimable criminal."

There lives on Beacon Street in Boston another family, consisting of a father, mother, and ten sons. The father and

mother are typical Bostonians, proud of their family traditions. Naturally enough, none of the boys are feeble-minded. Nine of them show average and moderate will power. They grow up, graduate from Harvard, and become, lawyers, bankers, and physicians of average prominence. The tenth early shows the traits of leadership. He is more restless and positive in his opinions than his brothers. His indomitable will power and great ambition make him scorn merely average achievements. He enters public life, rapidly rises to a commanding position, and eventually achieves fame. He keeps his solicitous relatives continually vacillating between pride in his prominence and distress at his disregard of the conventions.

Suppose the famous son of the Boston family and the criminal son of the slum family had in infancy been interchanged without any one's knowledge. What would have been the probable result? The young aristocrat in the slum family would have shown in his earliest youth a taste for books and other commendable inclinations. He would have been a star pupil in the public

kindergarten. As he grew older, however, and associated more and more with the boys on the streets, his instinct for leadership would have demanded a vent. A gang's contests with other gangs and with the police would have furnished the most natural and attractive outlet. His environment would have led him into acts of a criminal nature. In following his gift for leadership and his ambition to rise above the common herd, he would become a notorious criminal. Had the investigator commented upon this youth in ignorance of his true parentage he would have catalogued him as a "hardened and irreclaimable criminal," just as he did the real son of the worthless parents. He might even have added for good measure the old adage, "Blood will tell."

The slum child in the Boston family would before long begin to make things lively for his unsuspecting foster parents. He would drive his nurses and tutors to desperation. He would revel in insubordination. He would destroy and mutilate his books and clothes and outrage the proprieties. A little later he would become a

leader in mischief and the hero of the boys in the neighborhood. He would get into all kinds of scrapes. In some of the more serious he might only escape arrest and imprisonment through the good offices of his exasperated but loyal foster father. After his school and college days were over, however, and he had come into the responsibilities of life, his ability for leadership and absorbing ambition would begin to show themselves in very different ways. He would very probably go into public life, rise rapidly to a commanding position, and eventually win fame. Again people would wag their heads and sagely remark, "Blood will tell!"

If any of the other boys of the Boston family, those of average or moderate will power, were placed in the slum family, they would show bookish tendencies in early childhood which would probably continue throughout their lives. They would take only a half-hearted interest in the vigorous activities of the street gangs. They would be respectable and docile and would eventually become clerks in department stores and conscientious users of the

public free libraries. They would never sink to the depths of depravity of their strong-willed brother. Now, the children of the slum family of moderate will power if placed in the Boston family would not be bad as children. They would be merely lazy, neglectful of their studies, and careless in the care of their clothing and their persons. In short, because of their only moderate will power they would follow their heredity bent without being much influenced by their environment. They would grow up to be inferior, indolent, but respectable members of society.

Right here it may be asked, How is it that persons of moderate and even weak will have won fame? Because of their accidental possession of some remarkable aptitude or genius for achievement in a particular direction. Aptitude, or genius, which is aptitude raised to its highest power, is like will power an insoluble mystery. When genius happens to lodge in a weak-willed person he follows its impulse just as he would follow an enslaving vice. Like the vice it is the line of least resistance and he follows it with a passionate enthusiasm.

Will power is, in short, the controlling factor in the development of the individual — the common denominator between the two forces of heredity and environment. It can to some extent be developed by training. The development of right habits of thought and action can raise the degree of an individual's will power from weak to moderate, and from moderate to average, and from average to strong. On the other hand, probably no person originally of weak will could so cultivate what he had as ultimately to have a strong will.

From the foregoing these general conclusions may be drawn: —

First, all normal boys have in common certain general characteristics.

Second, certain allowance should be made for individuality and mode of life, but not too much.

Third, when boys sound in mind and body commit lawless acts, society makes a dangerous blunder in declaring "that class" of youth to be different from others.

Fourth, all normal boys, including "that class," would derive inestimable benefit from spending a few years in a village in

which the government was conducted by themselves, and where the conditions, economic, civic, and social, were the same as in an ordinary village.

Fifth, all boys for whom this is impracticable should be given opportunity to share in the fullest extent possible (and that means a very full extent) in the management of their own affairs in their school or clubs, or in whatever groups they may be gathered together for recreation, reformation, or instruction. Prior to the winter of 1911 Mr. George would not have subscribed to this last proposition. Up to that time he had assumed that there must be an economic basis for effective self-government. As a result of personal investigation of certain schools having methods of pupil self-government, Mr. George came to the conclusion that organized public opinion, even without an economic basis, was in itself a powerful enough force to make self-government effective. Since then he has been as keen an advocate of self-government in general as of the type of self-government exemplified in Junior Republics.

CHAPTER VIII

CHARACTER THROUGH RESPONSIBILITY

SUPPOSE a constitutional amendment were enacted raising the voting age from twenty-one to twenty-five years. There would be a howl of protest from the youths over twenty-one but under twenty-five. They would claim quite justly that they were as capable of exercising the full powers of citizenship as men of twenty-five. For that matter a lusty and intelligent youth of eighteen is as capable as one of twenty-one. The average youth of eighteen is usually more independent in thought and less influenced by ulterior considerations than his father. In most cases the father's occupation has forced him into a rut; he is less open-minded and more timid in his outlook on life. The youth also is apt to be surrounded by higher influences in school than is his father in business. The father is prone to look upon political leaders and policies too much from the point of view of

how they will affect him and his business—the son more from the point of view of the general welfare or what he believes to be the general welfare.

The principal of a high school in California recently submitted to the boys of the school a list of questions on current political issues. The answers showed that the boys had a surprisingly comprehensive and intelligent grasp of the political situation, both local and national. The Principal then succeeded in having the same questions addressed to a typical group of business men in the same city. Their answers were surprisingly unintelligent and showed that they had very little grasp of the situation either local or national. For instance, one of the men, in answer to a question as to what office a well-known fellow townsman was a candidate for, replied that he knew he was a candidate for "Congress," but as to whether it was the "State Congress" or the "Congress at Washington" he did not know.

One of the palpable follies of our system of government is the legal fiction which regards as infants sturdy and intelligent

youths in their late teens. Most self-respecting people resent arbitrary authority; their natural reaction is open rebellion or secret evasion. The "adult minors" are in somewhat that position in relation to the rest of us. Especially to such as have good red blood in their veins, laws are the arbitrary exactions of elderly people, to be obeyed when necessary and evaded when possible. Whether they live in luxury upon the bounty of rich parents or as hoboes upon the precarious bounty of society, they have in either case no responsibilities either of self-government or of self-support. Accordingly they are free to devote their time to adding to the anxieties of their elders who have chosen to monopolize all the responsibilities of life. For adults to resist laws in the making and enforcing of which they have no voice is commonly regarded as commendable and even heroic. Many of our progenitors so thought and so acted at the time of the "Boston Tea Party," and many of our "adult minors" so think and act to-day. Were it not for other influences which come into the lives of most youths between boyhood and man-

hood, society would soon reach the "demnition bow-wows" predicted by Mr. Mantalini.

As soon as the youth is faced with any of the real responsibilities of life, such as self-support or the support of others, self-government or the government of others, or even the care of large inherited wealth, his point of view rapidly changes. His old law-breaking heroes lose their glamour and finally he comes to look upon them as mere criminals. He wants even the most picturesque bandits promptly exterminated because they are a menace to property and the stability of society in which he now has a stake. Laws which a short time before he regarded as arbitrary exactions, he now looks upon as useful and necessary safeguards. Responsibility well met produces thrift, thrift produces property, and property is a powerful factor in the moulding of character.

During fair weather when the ship of state is sailing on an even keel, the "adult minors" are legally regarded as infants. As soon, however, as war-clouds gather and break upon the nation, these legal infants

are considered quite responsible enough to go to the front and risk their lives for their country. The records show that in our Civil War almost three-quarters of the combatants on both sides were under twenty-one years of age. This great and terrible war was fought and the nation saved largely by the boys of America. Neither were they confined to service in the ranks. Many of them became commissioned officers, some even rising to high rank. General Ripley, who was the first Union officer placed in command of Richmond after its capture, was barely twenty-three at the time. A Civil War captain said recently, "Mine was a regiment of youngsters out for a lark. Very few of us were of voting age." And of this "regiment of youngsters out for a lark" scarcely one half were left to tell the tale after a year of almost constant fighting. In fact, so universally have boys of seventeen to twenty risen to the terrible emergencies of war just as well as men of thirty and thirty-five that their so doing is not a matter of remark. As soon as the war is over, however, the youths immediately revert to the legal

status of infants. When great irrepressible issues must be decided by bullets they are welcomed into the terrible arbitrament, but when the ordinary issues of peace are to be settled by ballots they are excluded as too immature and irresponsible.

Nothing is more common than to hear older people descant wisely to youths upon the part played by the early necessity for self-support and self-reliance in moulding the characters of our great self-made men, of whom Lincoln is of course the preëminent example. They are apparently content to point out these advantages without giving the youths exhorted any opportunity to enjoy them. In fact, the faith which the ordinary adult appears to have in the efficacy of exhortation and moralizing is amazing when we consider its proved inadequacy from time immemorial. Boys sometimes become so desperate, from being preached at and treated as irresponsible beings, that they commit violent and even criminal acts to assert their self-respect. It may be an inverted and anti-social self-respect, but it is better than none and may be turned right side out. Deprived of all

opportunity for self-government or self-support, they are demonstrating in the only way which seems open to them that they are not infants, laws and customs to the contrary notwithstanding. In short, a large part of the trouble which society has with youth is caused by society treating them as irresponsible beings. It is both humiliating and demoralizing for any class of persons to be looked upon as irresponsible.

The youth of our country from sixteen to twenty-one, provided they are physically and mentally up to the standard of their age, are fit to assume the responsibilities of citizenship. They have an instinctive fellow-feeling for every youth who falls into the toils of the adult-made law. The lad who does some dare-devil act against property, and even the man, has the open or secret admiration of practically all youth everywhere, and he knows it. Even good boys admire the youthful outlaw. Sociologists discuss learnedly and at great length the causes of youthful depravity. They cite depraved home surroundings, evil environments, bad heredity, physiological

defects, and so on. At a National Conference of Charities in New York City some years ago several so-called "criminal" boys in uniform were brought in as exhibits for the edification of the assembled workers for the dependent and delinquent. The lecturer pointed out their physiological defects, which indicated, he claimed, that they were hereditary and irreclaimable criminals. The boys understood all that he said. Were they morose or tearful at being thus publicly humiliated? Not a bit of it! They showed every indication of gratification. When they got out of the institution and back to their gangs, they undoubtedly recited this experience as a claim for special honors from the gang. And if they were successful in convincing the gang that they were not "kidding," they as certainly got the honors.

Doubtless there is much that is true in the recondite conclusions of the criminologists, but however that may be, one of the chief reasons why youths do acts of a criminal nature is this: Whenever they commit serious crimes that bring them into public notoriety, they know that they have the

admiration, albeit sometimes the secret admiration, of practically every youth in the land. For proof of this listen to the members of a street gang discussing the crime of some youth. Listen to the boys of any school discussing the same deed — provided they don't know you are listening. Don't stop at the secular schools, but go to the Sunday schools and you will hear the same dare-devil act discussed with bated breath. And the hero of it all knows that he is in the limelight and glories in it. Eagerly he scans the headlines of the daily papers to see if the details of his crime are described with full and lurid picturesqueness.

A few years later we find the selfsame youths, who had lavished such admiration upon the dare-devil law-breaker, denouncing his acts and demanding his summary punishment as a criminal and a menace to society. Why this directly opposite point of view? Simply because they have come to the point where, instead of being irresponsible onlookers, they have the full powers of citizenship and the full responsibilities of self-support. Were the full re-

sponsibilities of self-government and self-support, or something approximating to them, placed upon the physically and mentally able youth some years earlier than at present, society would undoubtedly lose many enemies and gain many friends.

Sir Baden-Powell's recognition of boys' capacity to rise to moral responsibility started the Boy Scout movement. At the siege of Mafeking, during the Boer War, every able-bodied man was pressed into the service to defend the city. At a critical point in the siege, messengers were needed. No men could be spared from the defenses. At length, Lord Cecil solved the problem by using the boys for the service. When General Baden-Powell learned how these boys had saved the situation, he asked himself why boys could not be so organized as to be of service in time of peace. With this as a suggestion he gradually evolved the Boy Scout movement as it exists to-day.

The Boy Scout movement represents a gathering together of most of the boys' organizations of the world. To the sum total of all the ideals underlying all these

organizations, Baden-Powell added the idea of giving daily service to the common good. Thus should service become not only a vague ideal, but a definite daily habit. Service as a life habit inculcated through daily practice is the dominant idea of the Boy Scout movement and the adhesive force which binds together all its component parts. Every representative Boy Scout feels a sense of responsibility for the welfare of his community.

Some years ago in England, a troop of Boy Scouts who were camping near by were the first to arrive at the scene of a railroad wreck. They rescued people from the burning wreckage, gave them first-aid treatment and carried them on improvised stretchers to neighboring houses. The surgeons later testified that the boys had done the work speedily and correctly and had probably saved many lives. An equal number of boys, who were not trained, trusted, and imbued with a sense of civic responsibility, would have crowded around the scene of the disaster in awed silence until ordered out of the way by the men. It would never have occurred to them to help

nor would it have occurred to the men to ask them.

At a fire in Manila, Philippine Islands, two years ago, some Scout patrols arrived almost as soon as the fire engines and did wheel-horse work in helping people to safety, in maintaining fire lines, and protecting property. When one realizes how very far from helpful boys usually are to the fire-fighters, this is an impressive example of the power of a changed point of view.

In our own country, the Scouts of Moorhead, Minnesota, decided the conditions of the streets were not a credit to their town. It had become *their* town since they had become Boy Scouts. Instead of sending a letter of complaint to a newspaper, as some of their elders had done, they marched *en masse* to the central square, armed with burlap bags and sharp-pointed sticks, whence, on the blowing of a whistle, they scattered through every street of the town. Like avenging angels, they seized, bagged, and destroyed all pieces of loose paper and other offending articles throughout the length and breadth of Moorhead. Now,

had they scattered a like amount of refuse their act would have been attributed to boy nature, and that meaningless formula, "Boys will be boys," would have been quoted. Obviously it was just as much an expression of boy nature to clean up this town as it would have been to do the opposite. If boy nature has usually displayed itself in a less fortunate manner, it must be attributed to other causes than its inherent qualities. Boys have a way of living up or down to what is expected of them. Naturally this is distressing to those who expect nothing but evil from them.

In a Junior Republic the point of view of a youth about lawlessness is changed as completely as it is on coming into the responsibilities of manhood. When the daredevil, lawless, or what some people call the criminal youth, is sent to a Junior Republic instead of to a reformatory, he tries in the usual way to gain standing with the residents. He tells them what a desperate character he is. To his chagrin he finds this generally successful method a dismal failure. In the usual institution where benevolent despotism holds sway and deals

out by rote free food, shelter, and clothing to the inmates, the more desperate a character the newcomer, the more welcome. How sweet is the sound of tales of violence to the monotony-drugged victims of a system! Then, since the inmates have no property, thieves have no terrors for them. In a Junior Republic, however, the newcomer finds himself a part of a little community, the members of which work for their property and secure little or much according to their industry, and use the powers of citizenship to protect their property and persons against the lawless. It is a far cry from being an inmate to being a citizen.

When the young "hoodlum" gets out of a Junior Republic jail, he determines to do right, not because he has been reformed, but because he wants to be popular with his fellows. He has found it politic to be honest. Truly, a rather low standard, but the only one he is capable of grasping at once. Then, through the various forces in operation about him, he advances to higher and higher ethical levels. Self-support is no small factor in this evolution, but greater

CULTIVATING NEW LAND

ON THE FARM

than this is the exercise of the duties of citizenship. The formerly meaningless phrase, "We, the People," now includes him. He is a part of "the People." He hears a measure debated in town meeting and put to the vote of the citizens. Behold, he is a voter! The measure passes. Within an hour it is signed by the boy President and becomes a law. At once he realizes his individual power in the community. He sits on a jury when some boy is tried, as he was tried a few months before, and he feels his duty to act justly. He becomes an officer on the police force. It is his duty to see that the laws are enforced. This marks another stage in his development. All around him, wherever he turns, is moral and civic responsibility. During this plastic stage of development these same responsibilities are, without his being conscious of it, controlling his conduct and shaping his character. By these means he rises slowly but surely from the low standard of doing right for policy's sake to the point where he will do right for its own sake.

This was exemplified in the case of a boy who was elected to the Presidency of the

Freeville Republic by unanimous vote of his fellow citizens. The day after his inauguration he came to Mr. George in evident mental distress and said, "Daddy, some months ago, before anybody ever thought of my being good enough to be President, I stole something right here in the Republic. I've come to tell you about it and ask you what you think I ought to do."

Instead of advising him, Mr. George asked him what he was going to do. A determined look came into the boy's face as he replied, "Daddy, I'm going to call the citizens together, tell them what I've done, resign my position, surrender myself to the police, and go to jail." Unflinchingly he faced this ordeal and went to jail. His crime could never have been found out. From the point of view of expediency there was no reason for his doing as he did.

The delegates to the National Conference of Charities held in the city of Boston last year were given a steamboat excursion about Boston Harbor. Two bright-looking lads were selling copies of "The Survey" to the delegates. As one of these boys passed

near where Mr. George was standing, a delegate turned to his companion and said, —

"That is one of the judges we saw sitting at the Newsboys' Court last night dealing out fines and warnings to the young offenders who had violated their licenses."

One of the party thereupon explained that the newsboys of Boston of school age were licensed by the School Committee to sell newspapers. There were regulations and obligations, some of which were covered by city ordinances. Some people interested in self-government had secured the adoption of measures creating a judicial body of five, three of whom were newsboys elected by their fellows, and two, adults, to try the cases of violation of rules. The Court was established.

Another delegate then said, "I went expecting to be amused, but instead of that, I never felt more awe or reverence in the United States Supreme Court than I felt in the presence of those boy judges, and evidently everyone else in the room, whether boy or man, had the same feeling. I don't know when they closed Court last

night. They tried the little chaps first and sent them home, and they were trying some of the older lads, and still had quite a bunch of them on hand when we left."

Mr. George listened to these comments in silence, but with a glad heart. Some months before he had seized the opportunity to fan the flame which resulted in this Court when it had been discussed by a group of enthusiasts who were dining together in the City Club of Boston. He rushed over to the lad whose recognition had started the discussion and said, "You're one of the judges of the newsboys' court, I understand."

"Yes," replied the boy with an earnest, straightforward look.

"How do you like your job?"

A serious expression came into his face as he replied, "In a way I like it, but a feller has got to keep his eye peeled on himself, and his 'think-tank' pretty clear."

"I hear your court sat very late last night."

"Yes," he said, "we had a good many cases last night."

"How many sessions do you hold a week?"

"One usually, and sometimes two."

"How much are you paid for service on the bench?"

"Fifty cents from the city each night we serve."

"Who decides the number of nights you shall sit?"

"We do — the judges."

"If you wanted to, could you hold a session every evening?"

"I think prob'ly we could," he answered.

"Then why don't you hold more sessions instead of continuing them so late?" asked Mr. George.

"Because," he said, "we don't want to have it look as if we was graftin' off the city. We are there to do service to the city and to the newsboys."

Fortunately the ideas, of which the Junior Republics are the fullest expression, are already widespread. The complete expression — a real government of the youth, by the youth, and for the youth — has now been for seventeen years not a theory but an accomplished fact. During those years eight

other communities with such a government have come into being. In these communities youths learn to govern themselves by governing themselves, learn to support themselves by supporting themselves. In short, they learn to live by living. How often have we all heard people say that if they could live their lives over again, they would do this thing and would not do the other thing?

An ex-citizen of a Republic once said, "A fellow who has been through a Junior Republic has a kind of chance to live his life over again. He knows what he can do because he did it on a small scale in the Republic. Also he knows what he can't do, because he tried that, too, in the Republic, and 'got it in the neck.'" Yes, the boy and girl citizens of these communities do in a very real sense have an opportunity to live their lives over again.

While it will never be possible for all boys and all girls to become citizens of Junior Republics, it could and it should be possible for all boys and all girls to have a real share in the management of their own affairs in their schools, or their clubs, or

wherever they may be gathered together for whatever purpose. They could and they should be apprentice citizens of their various small groups and communities before they become actual citizens of the great community.

CHAPTER IX

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTIONS[1]

A New York City Alderman was seated in his office when a card was handed him which aroused his curiosity. It bore this inscription written in a sprawling childish hand on a piece of pasteboard: —

Joseph Marks,
Lieutenant-Governor, McCabe School State,
P. S. 109,
Brooklyn, New York.

The Alderman read it and laughingly asked the attendant to show the "Lieutenant-Governor" in. Presently that dignitary appeared — fifteen years old, but small for his age. He replied courteously but gravely to the laughing salutations of the Alder-

[1] Prior to two years ago Mr. George would not have indorsed this chapter because, as previously explained, up to that time he believed that self-government could not be effective without a property basis.

man. Seeing by his caller's manner that levity was not in order, the Alderman with difficulty composed his features and asked with mock gravity, "What can I do for the Honorable Joseph Marks?"

"I have it all written out in a petition from me and my fellow citizens," replied the boy as he handed him a formidable-looking document carefully tied with a soiled pink ribbon.

The Alderman undid the ribbon and read the petition which ran thus: —

"In the name of the children of New Lots and Powell Streets, South of Public School 109, Brooklyn, I request a simple favor of you, which my friends have done previously, but have not succeeded in having their favor fulfilled. I (Joseph Marks), Lieutenant-Governor of the McCabe School State of Public School 109, Brooklyn, have been asked by my fellow citizens, living in the above-mentioned neighborhood, to request a simple favor of you to have the gutters paved in that section.

"Public School 109 consists of three departments, of which the legislative department is the most important. I, as chair-

man of this department, am supposed to execute the laws, as my duty requires; but it is very hard for my friends and me to execute our own laws, for the simple reason that we are compelled to travel over very filthy roads in order to reach school.

"Many a time and, in fact, at all times, the Representatives (or lawmakers) and I, instead of executing our own laws, must violate them. It is a great disgrace both to the school and me, that I should violate the laws of my own organization. Among them is a law stating that all citizens should come to school with polished shoes. It is impossible, as I have said, to obey that certain law; for

"1. If the day is clear, people passing by cannot help 'painting their shoes with dust.'

"2. If the day is rainy, passers-by 'paint their shoes with mud.' Although we use rubbers, we lose them in the mud; therefore, we catch cold because our feet become wet, and we cannot attend school.

"3. If the day is foggy, we often step into deep mud, and through hard work, barely reach school in time, looking more

like pigs than citizens of the McCabe School State."

Laying down the paper and turning to his expectant young caller, the Alderman said, this time with genuine gravity, "I consider this complaint most serious and shall take it up at once with the proper authorities and will let you know what can be done."

As a result these streets were paved just as speedily as the materials could be assembled.

Not long after the Junior Republic at Freeville had emerged from a picturesque theory into an accomplished fact, a few far-sighted educational leaders began to realize that the principles there successfully applied could and should be used in the schools. Soon they began to experiment, and these early experiments mark the beginning of self-government for youth as a movement.

Six years ago the great public school, which the young Lieutenant-Governor represented (P. S. 109, Brooklyn), was organized on a self-government basis. Although this by no means marked the

beginning of school self-government in this country, it may be said to mark a revival of interest in the idea — a revival which has not only continued but steadily increased up to the present writing.

This school is divided into a boys' and girls' department with about two thousand pupils in each. The boys' department was first organized as a School State. The boys of the three highest grades were gathered together in the assembly hall to the number of six or seven hundred. It was explained to this motley group of youngsters, many of them recent arrivals from some of the most tyranny-ridden countries of Europe, and ninety per cent of them either immigrants or the sons of immigrants, that if they desired it they were to be given opportunity to regulate their own affairs under the guidance and supervision of their teachers. They desired it with a vengeance, and an election of officers was held on the spot. They elected a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Secretary of State, a State Treasurer, an Attorney-General, and a Chief Justice. It was said at that time that there was a number of children in the

school who thought we had no government in this country. Government in their minds was synonymous with tyranny and this was a land of liberty. Naturally these young officers had not the faintest idea what they were expected to do until they had been instructed in their duties by their teachers. They felt, however, that they wanted to do something at once. Therefore, after school they stayed and reduced the school basement, yard, and even the surrounding sidewalks to a state of immaculate cleanliness such as they never before had known. The janitor surveyed their unusual activities with mingled suspicion and approbation — the startled functionary did not know that he was witnessing the outward manifestation of an inward change. Before this the school premises had been to these boys merely the property of the city, for which they felt no personal responsibility; but now they had become the territory of their School State for which they felt directly responsible. Unconsciously they had hit upon the property basis of their government — a non-individualistic, socialized property basis.

For the legislative branch of their government the boys elected an Assembly in which sat two representatives from each class or "City." Each class or city elected a mayor for a term of one month. Each row of seats formed a ward and elected an alderman to a city council, which concerned itself with the local affairs of the class, such as the arrangement of pictures and decorations, the distribution of materials, etc. The class teacher retained a veto over the rules of the council.

Some months after the launching of this School State, one of the boy legislators introduced in the Assembly a resolution that the girls be admitted to the suffrage, that they be organized in a manner similar to the boys, that all resolutions before becoming laws be required to pass both the Boys' Assembly and the Girls' Senate, and be signed both by the boy Governor and the girl Governor. In accordance with invariable custom a veto power was to vest in the Principal — in this case both the Principals. There followed a lively debate in which some of the more potent arguments ran thus: "Now, I think this is a bad

resolution, Mr. Speaker. I don't think we ought to leave our girls vote because they was n't meant to. Now, they don't let our mothers vote an' I don't know why they don't, but they must have some good reason for not leaving 'em."

The next little representative recognized by the Chair said, "I don't agree with the previous speaker about women voting, because I think that out West somewheres they do let ladies vote, and they do it very nice, an' I think we can't tell what 's going to happen in ten or twelve years. Perhaps by then ladies will be let to vote here, so I think we ought to leave our girls vote, so that if they are let to, when they grow up they'll know how to do it good."

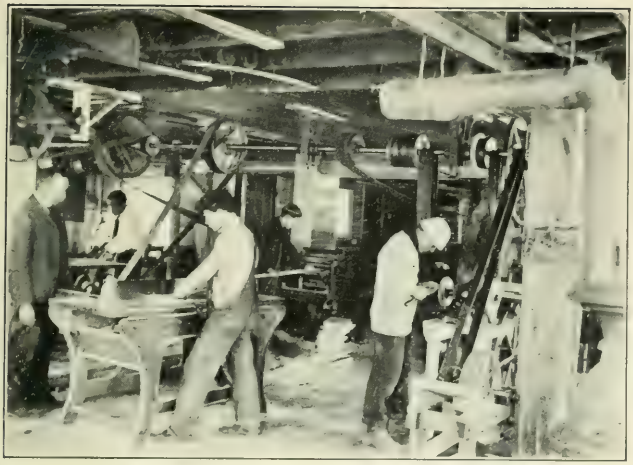
The last speaker was a calm youngster whose manner suggested judicial poise. He said, "Mr. Speaker, we have n't anything to do about whether women vote or whether they can't — that's none of our business, so it's no sense to talk about it. But it is our business to make our School State the best School State as we can make it. Now, I've noticed that the girls don't obey our laws very good, an' I don't be-

lieve we can ever make 'em obey them good until we give 'em something to say about makin' 'em. Therefore, I think we ought to leave 'em vote so as to make our School State as good as we can make it."

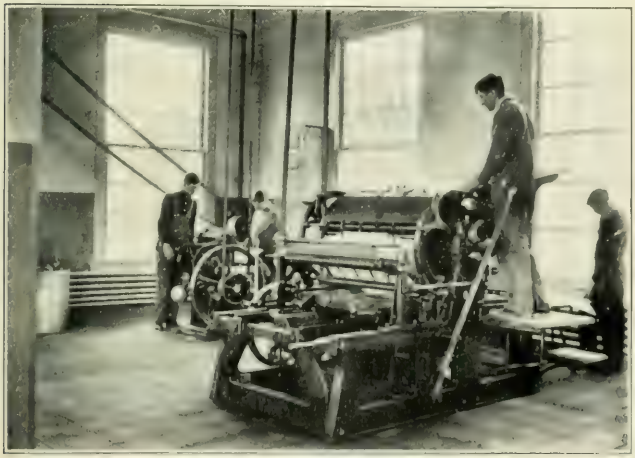
This argument apparently carried conviction to the doubters. The measure was put to vote and passed almost unanimously. The girls' department was immediately organized as the boys' had been.

In the schools where there is no sex separation, the question of admitting the girls to the suffrage does not even come up for discussion. Except where the sexes are separated, that the girls are just as much citizens as the boys is apparently taken for granted. All attempts to show the superiority of boys over girls, or *vice versa*, in self-governing ability have proved futile. No sooner have conclusions been drawn on the one side or the other than they have been overset by later evidence. As the matter stands to-day one can by a judicious selection of evidence apparently prove the case either way.

When a bill is vetoed by either the boy or the girl Governor, it goes before the vot-



AT WORK IN THE CARPENTER'S SHOP



MODERN PRESS FOR PRINTING MAGAZINE AND OTHER WORK

ers for approval or disapproval. In short, the referendum is used. When it is vetoed by a Principal, which almost never happens, that of course ends the matter.

All offenses committed outside the classroom are tried in the citizens' own Court. In the class, the teacher is in absolute charge unless she cares to avail herself of the Court, in which case the Attorney-General conducts the prosecution and represents the teacher or the Principal. The penalties inflicted are: (*a*), Reparation where possible; (*b*), apology; (*c*), reprimand in Court; (*d*), reprimand in class; (*e*), detention after school; (*f*), imposition of demerit marks; (*g*), deprivation of the rights of citizenship for a stated period, which involves the forfeiture of civic rights in halls, playgrounds, and on the street. All penalties must be approved by the teacher in charge. This veto power is very rarely exercised, but when it is, it is practically always used to modify the severity of the penalty. That is, the teacher sometimes intercedes with the Court on behalf of the offender.

Here in this School State, just as at the

Junior Republic, the citizens came finally to feel the need of a Court to which appeal could be made in case of miscarriage of justice or discontent with decisions, and to which could be referred in the first instance difficulties between pupils and teachers. Accordingly the Principal established a Supreme Court which sits whenever there are cases to come before it. The judges are three teachers appointed by the Principal each time the Court meets. In order to insure fair and impartial decisions, he appoints teachers who know nothing of the cases to come before the Court. The Principal has said that this Court has proved of great educational value to the teachers, just as has their own Court to the children.

In another large public school in New York City (P. S. 110, Manhattan), organized in a similar manner, the boy Governor was apparently successfully reëlected. He received the congratulations of his fellows and his teachers, was inaugurated, and started on his second term as chief executive. After some weeks in office, he discovered that in counting the votes a certain

room of younger children, only recently admitted to the suffrage, had been accidentally omitted. He at once appealed to the Principal for a recount. The Principal demurred. He knew the young Governor's value as a helper, the school had settled down contentedly under his leadership, so why not let sleeping dogs lie? The boy finally insisted that he would have to resign unless the votes were recounted. Accordingly a recount was taken in which the young Governor was counted out of office and his chief rival installed in his place. The new boy Governor then appointed his defeated rival Commissioner of Health, one of the most important offices in his gift.

Another one of the self-governing schools in New York (P. S. 114, Manhattan) is known as the "Melting-Pot." In it are seventeen different nationalities. The Italian and Jewish elements are dominant and numerically about equal. An Italian and a Hebrew boy were rival candidates for the office of District Attorney. The Italians were backing their candidate, and the Hebrews theirs, until one of the leading Jewish boys at a midday rally made this

appeal: "I want to tell you Jewish citizens that if you vote for Harry Cohen you will make a big mistake. What do we want? We want a District Attorney — a strong District Attorney what's got the nerve to do his duty, and not a Jewish District Attorney! We want the best feller we can get and you know, same as I know, that feller is Joseph Tooregrossa." Joseph got the bulk of the Jewish vote and was elected.

To reach this school the Jewish boys have to come through an Italian district which immediately surrounds the school. It had been a tradition of the school for the boys of all nationalities to join forces with the Italian boys at more or less regular intervals for the purpose of "beating-up the Jews." The "beaters-up" would lie in ambush for the Hebrew lads as they passed through the Italian district. Each time, as a result of these beatings, a number of the Jewish boys were unable to attend school for several days, and some few had to go to hospitals. A newly elected Governor of this School State called his advisers together and said, "Now, fellers, in the administration what 's just closed, the big

thing they did for the school was to cut out truancy. Now, it's up to us to do some big thing like that in our administration. Now, I think the biggest thing what we could do would be to cut out this beating-up of the Jews. And it's a good thing for us to do it because so few of us is Jews that people could n't say we done it because we was Jews."

The Governor's advice was followed. Just before the next attack on the Jews the would-be beaters-up were arrested by their fellows on the police force and, we dare say, those few who were foolish enough to resist arrest were "beaten-up" as soundly as they had planned to "beat-up" the Jews.

The stopping of truancy referred to by the young Governor as the star achievement of his predecessor's administration happened in this way: The truant officer had gone to the hospital seriously ill. Evidently he could not return to his duties for many weeks. The Principal called the Governor, the Attorney-General, and the Chief of Police to his office and said, "As you know, Mr. —— has gone to the hospital and can't be back for many weeks.

The city is short of truant officers and I don't want to call for one if I can avoid it. It occurred to me that possibly you officers could handle the situation and would be willing to try it."

The boy officers agreed to try it, and the Governor directed the Chief of Police to take charge of the campaign. A few mornings later the Chief of Police asked to be allowed to make a statement to the citizens in the assembly room. Here he told them that their Principal had put the matter of truancy into their hands, and that he, as the officer in charge, wanted to call upon every citizen to help him make a record for their School State. Incidentally he explained that he had charted the district, knew exactly where every truant's "hang-out" was, and just how long it would take his force to search every "joint" in the neighborhood. The citizens applauded and agreed to help.

To make a long story short, the Principal of the school testified that truancy began to diminish almost at once and steadily decreased until in the last week or two before the return of the adult officer it had ceased

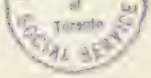
altogether. When the adult officer returned, the boy officers were relieved of all responsibility in the matter. Almost at once truancy started up again and gradually increased until it had resumed its normal proportions. The adult officer was not inefficient. On the contrary, he was a particularly good officer, but he could not know the neighborhood as minutely as did the boys, he did not understand boy psychology as did the boy officers, and the pupils generally could not reasonably be expected to coöperate with him to any such extent as with their own officers elected by themselves.

In public school No. 20, on the East Side, this case came up in the Court — their own Court. The prisoner at the bar was charged with having jumped upon the rear platform of a car that was passing the school and rung up some fares. When the young District Attorney came to sum up to the Judge, he said, in conclusion, "Just a word more, your Honor (His honor was fourteen years old), before I sit down. Everybody who knows anything about our school knows we have self-government here.

Now, supposing the President of this car company should write to our Principal a letter that his cars was troubled by boys doing things to them more goin' past our school than any other place. Would n't that be a disgrace to our school and to all our officers an' to every citizen? And what would people say about our self-government? Would n't they say as how if that was the way we acted when we had self-government, why, then we was n't fit to have it? Now, your Honor, I think you ought to think about this before you give your sentence in this prisoner's case."

His Honor evidently did "think about this." He pronounced the prisoner guilty, and penalized him by prohibiting him not only from taking part in the athletic games, for which he had been in training for some weeks, but even from attending them.

An advocate of self-government was urging the principal of a school in the suburbs of New York to put his school on a self-governing basis, when the Principal replied, "I thoroughly believe in the idea, but it could not be done in my school at present because unfortunately the worst-



behaved boy in the school is the most popular. He would be sure to be elected to the chief office, and that would make the whole thing a farce."

After a time the self-government advocate persuaded the Principal to start an experimental organization and to hold a tentative election of officers, it being understood that if the objectionable boy was elected to an important post the whole matter would be given up at least for the time being. The election was accordingly held. Not only was the popular bad boy not elected to the chief office, but he was not elected to any office whatever. Which goes to show that the majority can be depended upon, whether of men or boys. Naturally he resented being left out in the new order of events, and began to make things unpleasantly lively for some of the boy officials just as he had previously for his teachers. Finally a committee of the office-holders waited upon the Principal and made the apparently astonishing suggestion that this very boy be appointed Chief of Police. They argued that he was not really bad, but merely full of animal spirits, that he had a

great deal of ability, was a natural leader, and knew the conditions better than any one else. And they concluded with the argument that it might straighten him out himself. The Principal was doubtful, but told them to do as they thought best. The boy was accordingly appointed Chief of Police. Within a month order was completely restored in the school, and this boy, who had been on the verge of dismissal for incorrigible conduct, had become a well-nigh indispensable aid to the Principal and teachers.

In a recent speaking tour across the continent Mr. George spoke in the High School at Oakland, California. On reaching the school, instead of being greeted as usual by the Principal, he was met by one of the boys, who welcomed him and handed him a note from the Principal. In this note the Principal explained that on that particular day each month he and the teachers left the school entirely in the hands of the students, while they visited other schools. There was not a teacher in the building save a few who were merely visitors. The exercises and classes were going on as usual, and Mr.

George says that not in his whole tour did he find a school conducted in a better or a more orderly manner.

There is a School Republic in the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society in New York, which differs from those described, in that the children are under its direct influence all day long, instead of from nine to three only. The upwards of one thousand children in this institution are organized into two School cities, one of girls, the other of boys. Each is subdivided into wards with twenty-five citizens each. Each city has a city council, and each ward a local council. Two representatives from each ward compose the city council.

One of the gala days here is Visitors' Day. On this day, which comes once every two months, friends and relatives come in great numbers. There is much hugging and kissing and giving of presents, and the children are left with from ten to fifty cents apiece to spend as they please. On these days of rejoicing there was always a dejected little company of youngsters who were perforce merely spectators. They had no relatives or friends, and got no presents

or spending-money. Some months after the organizing of the councils, a boy introduced into the boys' council "A Bill for the establishment of a Penniless Fund." It had already been passed by the girls' council. The bill stipulated that every citizen who was neglected on Visitors' Day should receive a ten-cent credit at the citizens' bank; that such credits should be paid from the funds of the Republic treasury, but should be registered as coming from a friend. None of the prospective beneficiaries happened to be in the council. The councilman who introduced the measure said in its defence, "It is n't right that on Visitors' Day, when most of the citizens are having fun with their friends and relatives, that there should be a few citizens who are made to feel worse on that day than any other because they have n't any friends or relatives and don't get any presents or any spending-money. Now, we can't make them have friends and relatives to come and see them an' give them things, but we can give them a ten-cent credit on our treasury, an' we can call it that it's from a friend, so that they will

feel they've got a friend after all, an' so that they won't think they are getting charity." The measure was passed unanimously.

Had the self-government made these children kind-hearted? Nothing of the sort! It had simply provided a channel for the application of a generous impulse. Some boy or girl among them would have had the generous impulse in any case, but without some such channel of expression it could not have been translated into action.

Let us now turn to an institution as far removed from an asylum for homeless children as the Lawrenceville School. Only a few months after self-government had been introduced into one of the Lawrenceville dormitories, both the masters in charge were by accident absent on a certain night. Automatically the elective Student Council took charge, suppressed a budding "rough house," and maintained order somewhat more strictly than usual. Any one who has read Owen Johnson's Lawrenceville stories knows how contrary this conduct was to the traditions of the

place, and any one who knows anything of boys knows how powerfully they are influenced by traditions.

At Harvard not long ago the Student Council recommended that the hour examinations (informal tests) be held at more frequent intervals and count more heavily in determining a student's grade, so as to reduce the evils of "cramming" just before the mid-year and final examinations. Just imagine college students without organization or responsibility proposing any such change! The only fellows who would desire such a reform under autocratic management would be insufferable prigs whose influence with their fellows would be less than none.

By a canvass of two hundred schools the School Citizens' Committee (the voluntary organization devoted to the supervision and extension of pupil self-government) has gathered together these standard objections to pupil self-government and the answers to them as given by a New York City Principal who has conducted his school on the plan for six years: —

(1) Pupil self-government calls for a mental development that children do not possess. Neither is it desirable that children should become "Legislative, Judicial, and Executive." We want to keep them young as long as we can.

(1A) We have found the pupils of the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades adequately and normally developed, able to conduct their own affairs — under discreet supervision. As for the contention that self-government induces precocity, it is unfounded. The children, both officers and citizens, are thoroughly normal, healthy and sport-loving young Americans.

(2) It takes up too much time.

(2A) The actual time consumed by the formal side of the School Republic is ten minutes for the election at the beginning of the school term and the time of three teachers per week for an hour after school; the latter a voluntary work of the teachers.

(3) Children, when vested with power, become arrogant.

(3A) Six years of pupil self-government have failed to bring forth a domineering state official.

(4) If men cannot successfully govern themselves, how can children?

(4A) No amount of *a priori* reasoning can argue away the fact that children do govern themselves relatively well. May it not be one of the contributory causes of the shortcomings of our democracy that as children our people were not effectively trained for participation in civic life? Are we not now paying the price of the despotic schoolmaster rule of the old days? What preparation for living in a democracy was so ill-designed as the none

too benevolent despotism of the birch-rod master? And even under the present system of text-book civics, what actual preparation is there for life as a citizen? The science of number is taught by the use of numbers; physical training is carried out by a scientifically developed course of physical exercises; drawing is drawing, and nature study is pursued largely by a first-hand study of objects, but civics takes its place with astronomy in that it deals with things remote. The vitalization of civics calls for some mode of pupil self-government.

(5) In the last analysis the supervision necessary makes mere puppets of the children.

(5A) Not a fact. Judicious supervision exercised along the lines of friendly control without dictation serves the two-fold purpose of fostering initiative and preventing the children from attempting too much.

(6) The machinery is so elaborate that the purpose is destroyed.

(6A) Yes, if the machinery is so elaborate, but it need not be, and it is not. Elaborate systems fall to the ground of their own weight. The best results are obtained along the simplest lines.

(7) The energy expended is not worth while.

(7A) If a wealth of school spirit and a splendid coöperative attitude on the part of teachers and pupils is not worth while, is anything in this world worth while?

(8) Pupil self-government

(8A) The objection sup-

is simply for show; it cannot take care of those serious cases, e.g., thievery, etc., which come up in every school.

poses that the entire government of the school is in the hands of the pupils. Rather is pupil government an auxiliary of the regularly constituted school régime and makes the handling of untoward events a simpler procedure than usual.

(9) The children of our day are more in need of respect for authority than the exercise of it.

(9A) Why? The children of our day have been quickened by the inquiring spirit of our times and are quick to detect the shallowness of the autocratic system. But where they are trained to a rational respect for authority through a realization of the necessity and the participation in the exercise of it, their respect and loyalty becomes unshakable.

(10) In the economic conditions under which we live our children need all the knowledge that they can get to prepare for the struggle for existence.

(10A) The economic conditions under which we live are extremely trying, because we have let slip from our grasp the power that rightfully belongs to us. The fundamental remedy is to teach our children the value of working together, reclaiming that power and reestablishing the conditions of true democracy.

(11) Pupil self-government destroys one of the greatest influences of the school, i.e., the principal's and teachers' personal influence.

(11A) Through six years the principal and teachers and pupils have been brought constantly into closer and more efficient coöperation.

(12) The activities of pupil self-government are mere play and are recognized as such by the pupils.

(12A) Even if it is pleasurable it is real play. The pupils consciously imitate the procedure of enlightened citizens,

> but find great enjoyment in it. Therein is its great value. They play, they learn, they develop, they prepare. What more can one ask of an educational device than that it mould character effectively and joyfully?

These and like objections we have found to be based in the main upon what we believe to be, first, a misconception of the purpose and significance of student self-government, and, second, a widely held fallacy regarding education itself. The misconception lies in regarding self-government for youth as a means of practical training in civics. It is rather a means for the development of the individual character of each and the social consciousness of all. As an incident of such character development, it does afford the best possible opportunity for practical training in civics, but that is merely one of its by-products. While it provides definite channels for the immediate translation of right desires into right acts, the inspiration which arouses the right desires must come, under self-government, as under any other method, chiefly from the adults in charge. Even

some persons of large intelligence point to the fact that wrong desires result in wrong acts under self-government, as a danger and a weakness. They say, and say truly, that self-government among youth is subject to the same evils as self-government among grown persons. This criticism seems to us to be based upon what we will call the Utopian fallacy regarding education. The Utopian fallacy holds that youth should be surrounded by conditions as nearly Utopian as possible during the period of formal education. Were this world a Utopia, this contention would be sound. Until this world becomes a Utopia, it is fundamentally unsound. The moral, like the physical, muscles can only become strong through exercise. Utopian conditions provide no opportunity for their exercise.

The underlying principles of Junior Republics and School Republics are the same. The development of character through responsibility is the primal aim of each. The upbuilding of the social consciousness, the each-for-all sense, without which no free community can ever prosper or long

endure, is the supplementary aim of each. In Junior Republics these purposes are achieved by means of, first, self-support; second, self-government. In the ordinary school there is no self-support and hence all rests upon self-government. Where there is self-support there is property. Those who have property naturally want laws to protect it. Here is a good old dollars-and-cents, self-interest foundation — a firm and good foundation upon which to build a superstructure of unselfish social coöperation. In the schools this foundation is lacking. All depends upon the each-for-all sense enforced by that mighty weapon — Public Opinion.

One of the pioneers in self-government as a movement was Wilson L. Gill, of Philadelphia, who originated the School City. The School City is a device for the application of the principles of self-government to the ordinary school or institution. As its name implies, it consists in organizing the school as a miniature city or state in which the children are the citizens and elect from among themselves their own officers — legislative, executive, and judicial — and

manage their own affairs under the inspiration and supervision of their teachers.

John Ray, of Chicago, another pioneer, devised the Ray System, which in principle differs scarcely at all from the School City, but which in form emulates the democracy of the Roman Republic. Each class elects a tribune who acts as the leader and representative. As leader, the tribune adjusts minor differences between pupils, and answers questions about details that ordinarily would be put to the teacher. As representative, the tribune acts for the class when called upon to do so by the teacher or the principal. There is a school council, made up of the tribunes of the several classes, which acts in a legislative capacity in conjunction with the principal. The emphasis is laid upon the privilege of citizenship. The badge or pin of the citizen can be won, "only by good conduct and correct moral principles."

There is also the Brownlee method, originated by Miss Jane Brownlee, of Toledo, Ohio. Miss Brownlee's starting-point in self-government is with the spiritual side of the child's nature. Her basic idea is that

"thoughts are things." Consequently, if the habit of thinking righteous thoughts is cultivated in the child, righteous action will follow as surely as the night the day. Miss Brownlee says, "Only half is done when children are made conscious of this wonderful thought power: they must be given a channel through which to direct and use it." This "channel" is then provided by organizing the school as a School City.

Besides these labeled methods there are modifications and combinations of each and all so various as to defy definition or classification. In fact, there are almost as many methods as there are teachers applying any method. No teacher, in short, who has not enough individuality to individualize his or her method has enough character to succeed with any method. This diversity is quite in accord with the wishes of the leaders, who never intended to offer cut-and-dried devices which would fit any and every school, but merely to present working models to be moulded and fitted to local needs and individual tastes. There are now to be found schools organized after the manner of almost every known govern-

ment, including government by commission, and some quite as effective modeled after no form of government that ever existed or ever will. There are, in fact, some schools where the self-expression of the pupils is only incidentally through governmental channels. In such schools Jefferson's ideal of a minimum of government is the standard, but they are none the less miniature democracies, and are entirely in conformity with the fundamental principles of self-government which are the only principles which may properly be insisted upon by its advocates. Wherever the pupils are given a share in the active management of their own affairs in *some conscious and tangible manner*, there are the principles of self-government being applied, whatever the outward form. This definition, broad as it is, is not broad enough to include monitorial systems as generally understood. The delegation of authority by the autocrat in control to certain selected lieutenants among the students not only is not self-government, but involves principles diametrically opposed.

The self-government movement for boys

and girls has grown until there are to-day eight Junior Republics in six different States of the Union, and a similar community in England. There are, to our knowledge, over one hundred schools scattered throughout seventeen States of the Union completely organized on a self-governing basis, and a considerable number in other countries. Some thirty of these are in Greater New York and the surrounding towns. With these the School Citizens' Committee keeps in constant and direct touch. There are doubtless many more schools on a self-governing basis of which we have no knowledge,[1] beside the very much greater number that have some phases or beginnings of self-government. It is probably safe to say that over one hundred thousand children throughout the schools and institutions of the country are to-day on a self-governing basis. There are a considerable number of child-caring institutions organized wholly or in part along self-governing lines. Probably a majority of all the institutions and schools in the

[1] Any such would confer a favor by communicating with the School Citizens' Committee, 2 Wall Street, New York.

country have to a greater or less extent, either consciously or unconsciously, been affected by the self-government movement. There is a number of playgrounds where self-government is combined with play. There is a large number of boys' and girls' clubs which are self-governing. And, finally, the Boy Scouts have many self-governing features in their world-wide movement, and will have more if General Sir Baden-Powell and some of the other leaders can bring it about.[1]

In order to get the testimony of those who know pupil self-government at first hand, last year the School Citizens' Committee addressed a *questionnaire* to the public schools throughout the country known to have it in some form. The following conclusions are drawn from the answers of one hundred school principals and five thousand pupils. The first set of conclusions is drawn from the principals' answers and the second from the children's.

[1] We hope eventually to gather these very various and widely scattered forces into a League for the Advancement of Self-Government, and thus to make the self-government movement more conscious of itself and its potency, and hence more effective.

The Principals' Testimony

1. Not one would think of giving up his or her self-government plan.
2. It has developed a stronger school spirit.
3. The public opinion it develops and organizes is of great value to the principal.
4. It is the only effective way to teach civics.
5. The boy who, under other conditions is "fresh" and unruly, is subdued and brought into line by his fellows.

The Pupils' Testimony

1. They catch the point of self-government — they understand its meaning and significance.
2. The same questions provoke the same answers in portions of the country as different and widely separated as Colorado, New Hampshire, Alabama, and Kansas.
3. It appeals to them because it gives them a chance *to do things.*
4. Their only objections relate to the working-out of details.

5. Their own Court is potent because it applies pupil standards and pupil punishments.
6. That a constructive attitude of mind is cultivated is shown by the fact that nearly all the children offer definite and plausible suggestions for the improvement of the self-government plan in their own schools.

A college student who had been through a school where they had real self-government was once asked what good it had done him. After a moment's hesitation he replied, "I don't think I could ever be a 'dead one' after that!" One has but to consider the responsibility of the "dead ones" for the evils of our governments, particularly in great cities, to realize the significance of this remark. If we could eliminate the "dead ones" from our civic life, we could handle the "bad ones" with comparative ease.

CHAPTER X

THE WORLD'S WORKERS

When through necessity or responsibility the youth makes a right-angle turn in the way of life, leaving behind the path which was leading through irresponsibility into lawlessness, and comes up against the stern realities, he quickly becomes one of the world's workers.

The world's workers may be divided into two groups: —

(*a*) The better sort who do right for right's sake;

(*b*) The other sort who do right for policy's sake.

Those of the second group uphold the law to whatever extent they believe it to be beneficial to their selfish interests. But both groups, however different their ethical standards, unite as possessors of property in making and enforcing laws for its protection.

All other adults may also be divided into two groups: —

(*a*) Those who do wrong for policy's sake;

(*b*) Those who do wrong for its own sake.

The latter are a small group of daredevils made up of freebooters, pirates, highway robbers, and desperadoes of all descriptions for whom Robin Hood in the Old World, and Jesse James in the New, stand as types. This group is not only small but continually growing smaller, because in our complex and highly organized civilization it becomes increasingly difficult for this type to survive. The very conditions which make increasingly difficult and dangerous the lot of the out-and-out bad man, favor his more dangerous competitor in evil — the individual who does wrong for policy's sake.

Many of those who do wrong for policy's sake occasionally do right from the same motive, and conversely many of those who generally do right for policy's sake sometimes do wrong from the same motives.

Indeed, there is a large number of per-

sons who according to circumstances skip back and forth over this line so frequently that they must be counted a middle or connecting class between the two. Among these persons who do right or wrong, according as one or the other line of conduct best serves their purposes, are what Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, in his book, "Sin and Society," calls "criminaloids." The "criminaloid" may endow schools and colleges, found hospitals, and serve on boards of trustees of all manner of religious and philanthropic institutions. Certainly no one can call such activities wrong. At the same time he may be, as Professor Ross says, "The director who speculates in the securities of his corporation, the banker who lends his depositors' money to himself under divers *aliases*, the railroad official who grants a secret rebate for his private graft, the builder who hires walking-delegates to harass his rivals with causeless strikes, the labor leader who instigates a strike in order to be paid to call it off, the publisher who bribes his textbooks into schools. . . . "

A great number of these persons are at

large merely because they have never been caught or because, with their high-priced legal advice, they have succeeded in obeying the letter of the law while breaking its spirit. They run great chances, and, with the exception of the great and powerful among them, are generally lodged behind prison bars eventually.

While these persons who do right or wrong, as the case may be, for policy's sake, may be far from patriots or even desirable citizens, it is nevertheless of the utmost importance to have them arrayed on the side of law and order. Where their selfish interests are, there will they be. When they secure property they become advocates of the laws protecting property. Deprive them of the opportunity to acquire property and at once they would become open and lawless enemies of society. Were these borderland followers of expediency all open enemies of society the relatively few who do right for its own sake would be forced to abandon their peaceful pursuits and band themselves into a standing army in order to preserve even a semblance of organized and civilized society.

Some people may say that they prefer men who are bad out and out, rather than these crafty and shifty followers of expediency. And this might well be so if the question of property did not enter in. The Rev. Mr. Carruthers says truly in his essay, "The Pirate's Own Book," that while a pirate is doubtless a more interesting character than a pessimist, in choosing between the two one would hardly hesitate to select the pessimist rather than the pirate as a neighbor. Of two men, — one, genial, happy-go-lucky, witty, and companionable, but with a fatal habit of appropriating that which does not belong to him; the other selfish, sullen, and unpleasant in appearance and manner, but strictly honest, — which would the average man select as a companion? If he had no property he would undoubtedly select the genial individual. If he had property he would as surely select the other as being, under the circumstances, the least undesirable.

Oftentimes persons who act merely for selfish reasons of policy are found vigorously supporting good laws initiated by those who do right for its own sake. They

do not support the laws because they are good, but merely because they will make their property more secure or in some manner be of selfish advantage to them. The more the right can be made to harmonize with the advantageous, the more will these people support the right. If the conditions are such that the rewards are on the side of right conduct, they will eagerly and gladly do right. If, on the other hand, circumstances place the rewards on the side of wrong conduct, they will do wrong; not eagerly and gladly, to be sure, but certainly. In short, they respond to their environment as a barometer to the weather. To change them you must change their environment.

From all of these groups in society emerge leaders. Their dominant characteristic from the worst to the best is strength of will. Adults just as youths may be grouped by their degree of will power from the great leaders with their indomitable wills, down to flabby outcasts, who make up the pathetic camp followers in the march of civilization. While persons of only moderate or even weak will may

achieve distinction or even fame in a given direction by reason of some highly developed aptitude or talent, they never become leaders in any real sense.[1] Except in the cases of these persons with exceptionally developed special aptitudes or talents, the degree of will power is always a dominant and generally the determining factor in the success or failure of the individual.

When youths make the right-angle turn in the way of life and become world's workers, they very quickly forget their irresponsible and carefree point of view. They soon become so engrossed in the cares and responsibilities of life that they forget entirely that only a few years before they were allied in thought, and occasionally even in deed, with the young lawbreakers whom now they so loudly denounce as dangerous criminals. Neither have they any charity toward those who have continued along the way of lawlessness into mature years. There are others among the world's workers who have abundant charity toward the lawless, but as they too have forgotten their former irresponsible

[1] Genius is of course an exception to all rules.

point of view it is apt to take a sentimental and even maudlin turn. It is too frequently a hysterical insistence upon kindness to all living creatures, whether they be dogs, cats, toads, snakes, or lawbreakers. For such kindness the lawbreaker has merely contempt, while of course he is quite ready to turn it to his own advantage.

Both those who are charitable, and those who are not, tend to regard the lawless as quite another kind of beings from themselves. They know what influences have kept them straight, and what have tempted them to step aside from the path of right. Do they, then, reason by analogy that the lawbreakers should be surrounded by the one set of influences and protected from the other? No, because they do not recognize that the lawless are beings like themselves subject to the same hopes and fears, the same temptations and desires, aspirations and ambitions. The warden of one of our great prisons, in reply to a request of a visitor to see "the first-class criminals," said, "You've come to the wrong place to see them. These are the third-class

bunglers in here. The first-class criminals are prosperous members of society who have never been caught and most of whom never will be."

When some injury is done themselves or their property by the undisciplined social outcasts, the world's workers at once cry out, "The criminal needs discipline. We must devise a system for his reformation." A system is accordingly devised and put into operation by the law of the world's workers. It embodies inherited and traditional conceptions, without regard to their own point of view before they took the right-angle turn in the way of life. This system is variously known as prison, reformatory, reform school, and industrial school. Its ostensible purposes are in varying order and degree: to protect society, to punish the lawbreaker, and to reform the individual. While, to be sure, the penal system in this country varies in different States from conditions verging upon mediæval barbarism to methods well intentioned and relatively enlightened, it may in general be said to have failed to accomplish, to any considerable extent, any of its

purposes except the infliction of punishment.

For the maintenance of our prisons alone we are now paying $3,500,000 a day, or $1,000,095,000 a year. We spend as much annually on our prisons as the combined value of our total output of wheat and coal, estimating our wheat at $750,000,000 and our coal at $350,000,000. Professor Bushnell, of Washington, estimates the annual cost of all our machinery for the suppression of crime at $6,000,000,000 — Dr. Frank Lydston at $5,000,000,000. So the authorities differ on a little detail like one billion dollars. What a price to pay — for what? For the suppression of crime? In the United States to-day there are four and one half times as many crimes to every million of the population as there were twenty years ago.

It is common knowledge that the average prisoner comes out of prison a worse man than when he went in. In the great majority of cases he is either broken in spirit, and hence useless to himself and society, or he is filled with a spirit of revenge and dangerous to society. With our prisons liber-

ating thousands of these useless and dangerous persons weekly, we certainly cannot claim that our penal system is adequately protecting society. With the average convict coming out of prison worse than when he went in, still less can we claim that it is reforming the lawbreakers. If it is neither protecting society nor reforming the lawless, what is it doing? It is punishing the lawbreakers. That is, it is punishing such of the lawbreakers as are caught — those whom the warden, quoted, calls "the bunglers." And for this we are paying five or six billion dollars a year!

The ordinary penal institution largely fails in its purpose, because the system itself is given preëminence over the individual, for whose ostensible reformation it is devised. The life in a prison or reformatory is of necessity unnatural and undemocratic. Conformity to its demands not only does not fit an individual to meet the problems of actual life, but positively unfits him. For the model prisoner who mechanically follows all the rules and regulations and goes through his daily routine like a machine, there is little hope when he comes again

into real life. He will find awaiting him no rules and regulations accompanied by free board and lodging and a machine-like routine. He must get out and hustle for a job under the most adverse conceivable conditions. This demands great initiative. What initiative he once had has atrophied in the prison atmosphere, where it was not only useless, but a positive detriment. For the refractory prisoner when he finally gets out there may be hope. He has kept his initiative in spite of the system. He still has the ability to make his way in the world and may still succeed if he can be given the desire to use it.

Our penal system still rests chiefly upon fear. As President Eliot, of Harvard, once said, "Fear of punishment, whether in this world or the next, is a very ineffective motive with adults."

There has grown up, particularly of late years, a mawkish sentimentality regarding lawbreakers which is even more destructive to their self-respect than the fear and hatred with which they are commonly surrounded.

It is our contention that the only legiti-

mate purposes of a penal system are, first, to protect society against the lawbreaker; and second, to reform the lawbreaker. In the isolated spots where these purposes have been made supreme or even dominant, success has followed. Judge Ben Lindsey's success is perhaps the most notable example. Where punishment and revenge is a purpose, either consciously or unconsciously, the two legitimate purposes, namely, the protection of society and the reform of the individual, are destroyed, and the result is the sordid and costly failures with which the path of our penal system is strewn.

CHAPTER XI

CITIZENS REMADE

As soon as lawbreakers are caught, tried, and convicted, they are shoved into the prison world where the factors of property and responsibility, so beneficial to mankind in general, are entirely withdrawn. Naturally persons who do right for its own sake, with the rare exception of zealots like John Brown, do not fall into the clutches of the law. As previously stated, the desperadoes who do wrong for its own sake are a small and decreasing class. In short, all except an almost negligible percentage of the prison world is made up of persons who do right or wrong for reasons of policy. Therefore, whatever motives these people may have had for doing right are promptly and completely removed. Under an indeterminate sentence they may, indeed, behave themselves in an exemplary manner according to the negative standards of prison virtue.

Why? Not infrequently that they may the sooner gain their freedom and continue their wrongdoing. In fact, the passionate desire for revenge upon an enemy outside is sometimes the propelling motive for prison virtue. There is no chance to earn money for one's self or one's family, there is no chance for the exercise of the qualities of leadership, there is no chance for worth-while achievement either great or small, there is no legitimate opportunity to win the admiration of one's companions, and there is of course no opportunity to win fame, distinction, or even respect. How many of even the best of people would continue to follow the right, with all these inducements withdrawn? Is not practically all incentive for really desiring the right, in distinction from merely seeming to desire it, effectually removed?

For the persons in this unnatural submerged world, society assumes entire responsibility both for their support and their government. These wards of society, known as convicts, are designated by numbers — a fitting symbol of the disregard of their individuality. They may be divided into the

following groups: First, those who in some moment of sharp temptation have violated the law which up to that time they had upheld. In this group are splendid people who may even have closely approached the doing of right for its own sake. In an evil moment they dropped into doing wrong for policy's sake, and were caught. Second, comes a large group who outside belonged to the class of those doing right for policy's sake with occasional détours into wrong-doing from the same motives. The essential difference between these persons and those of their category outside is that they have been caught, while the others have not. They are apt to have more courage, self-respect, and real honesty than their uncaught colleagues. As soon as they are caught and convicted, however, these ordinarily good and law-abiding individuals are branded by society as members of the criminal class and cast into the prison world. To be sure, they are called first offenders or accidental criminals, and as such are given certain privileges. But these privileges are artificial prison advantages which can in no way compensate them for

the real advantages of which they have been deprived. The final and lowest group is composed of the lawless element who have done wrong for its own sake. This is, like the first or highest group, numerically and proportionately insignificant.

Inside the prison as well as outside, individuals may be classified according to their degree of will power. There are the weak-willed, those of moderate will, those of average and those of strong will power. Those in this last group are natural leaders of their fellow men. Outside, they were leaders in commercial, political, or professional life; some were leaders in crime. Whether for good or ill, nevertheless they were leaders. Under prison conditions there is no legitimate outlet for the qualities of leadership. Hence, the men with these qualities find illegitimate outlets and lead in acts of insubordination and in jail-breaking. They are thereupon classified as incorrigibles, hardened criminals, or some other terms suggesting depravity. In fact, many of the prison classifications, such as first offenders, second offenders, occasional offenders, and old offenders, will be found to be closely related

to the degree of will power possessed by the individuals designated. Obviously the character-strengthening influences of property and responsibility, self-support and self-government, should not be withheld from the very individuals who most need them at the very time when they most need them. Why should not the principles already proved effective in the reformation of law-breaking youths be applied to lawbreaking adults?

Let several thousand acres of land be surrounded by a wall or a stockade with a dead-line of sufficient distance running along inside.[1] Let the offenders against society be banished to live within this inclosure until they shall have become safe and useful members of society. Suppose, for instance, a man is arrested, tried and found guilty of some offense. With the exception of murder, it matters not what the offense. Instead of sentencing him, as now, to pay a fine or serve a term in prison, the Judge orders him to go and live within this inclosure until such time as he can prove to

[1] Personally we believe that this wall would be found to be unnecessary.

a Court of Rehabilitation[1] that he has become a safe and useful member of society. We agree with Mr. Roland B. Molineaux that to sentence offenders to definite terms of imprisonment is the height of absurdity. If the lawbreaker has actually reformed before the expiration of his term, it is unjust to him to keep him longer in confinement; if, on the other hand, he has not reformed by the expiration of his term, it is unjust to society to liberate him. Suppose a man with scarlet fever were sent to a hospital for three weeks, and at the end of that time turned out with the fever at its height, merely because the period for which he was committed had expired. Or suppose he was sent for three years, and held for over two and one half years after his complete recovery, merely because his time had not expired. Of almost as great folly is society guilty in sentencing to definite terms of confinement those whose acts indicate moral illness.

When the man is brought within the

[1] We have taken the idea of the Court of Rehabilitation from an able paper by Roland B. Molineaux, published in *Charities and the Commons*, September 28, 1907.

inclosure in compliance with the order of the Court, he will find himself in a town or village just like any other town or village except that it is surrounded by a stockade guarded by armed sentries. He and his fellows have the same liberty of action as the inhabitants of any town except that they may not leave until they can secure the permission of the Court of Rehabilitation. No matter how slight his offense he cannot go until he has proved to this Court that he is a desirable citizen. No matter how grave his offense he may not be held beyond such time. He finds the life within the inclosure in all essentials like the life outside. There are the same trades and callings, and above all, the same necessity of choosing between the alternatives — work or starve. The inhabitants dress and act like the citizens of any ordinary town and conduct their government in the same manner. He has not been allowed to bring a cent of money into the inclosure with him and he finds that he can secure food and lodging only by paying for it in the coin of the community. If there is any demand for such services, and if it was legitimate,

he will naturally take up his outside occupation. For the matter of that, he may take it up even though illegitimate if his fellow citizens will let him. Presumably, however, they will not, for such an occupation would make it more difficult for all of them to secure their liberty. In short, he finds himself in a community corresponding to a Junior Republic except that the citizens are all men over twenty-one, instead of boys and girls.

Friends and relatives can visit the citizens of this town whenever they wish, provided they are of good character. Their comings and goings must of course be closely scrutinized by a strong guard at entrances and exits. While every citizen must start life anew, without a cent to his name within the inclosure, he may keep in touch with business associates outside. In fact, he may even continue to direct his business outside, provided he does not personally derive any income from it until liberated. Just as in a Junior Republic only persons of sound mind and sound body would be eligible. A board of alienists and physicians would pass upon the eligibility of

all applicants sent by the courts. Those found to be physically unsound would be sent to hospitals, to be returned when cured. If incurable they would be sent to hospitals where they could be permanently cared for. Those of unsound mind would be sent to asylums for similar treatment. It would probably be necessary to keep doubtful mental cases under observation for long periods. The regulation that a patient as soon as cured must enter the inclosure instead of being set at liberty would effectually prevent the feigning of maladies in order to escape confinement.

When a member of this community felt that he had earned his freedom he would apply for liberation to the Court of Rehabilitation. Before this Court the burden of proof would rest entirely upon him. He would have to produce convincing evidence that he had reformed and had become a safe and useful member of society. Among other things he would have to show that he had worked hard and dealt fairly with his fellow citizens within the inclosure; that he had done his full share as a citizen, a neighbor, and a friend; that he had to the

fullest extent possible made reparation to the person or persons outside whom he had injured by his crime; that he had, if married, contributed to the best of his ability to the support of his family, and, if single, that he had saved as much as possible to help in his reinstatement on release. He could call upon his fellows to corroborate his statements and the Court could, of course, cross-examine him and them. Since everything would depend upon his convincing the Court that his character was rehabilitated, nothing would be so fatal to his chances as to be caught in a lie. If he failed to prove his case, he would simply go on as before and apply again when he felt he had additional evidence. If he succeeded in proving his case, he would be set at liberty with a certificate from the Court stating that he had been reformed and had become honest, industrious, public-spirited, and, in short, a useful and desirable citizen. He would return at once to his rights and duties as a citizen, of which, indeed, he was never deprived; they were merely in abeyance, so far as the outside world was concerned, during his banishment.

Needless to say there would be offenders against the laws of such a community just as there are outside. Such offenders would be arrested and tried by their fellows in their own Court, and if convicted sentenced to banishment into another similar adjoining community. There would be as many such communities as experience showed to be necessary. Suppose there were four, and suppose an offender committed to the first were banished by his fellows to the second, and so on, until he had reached the fourth. There would be in each inclosure a guard-house for misdemeanants, where the inmates would be obliged to work without pay for the community. In each inclosure, except the last and the first, there would be a commission made up of citizens of that inclosure, to pass upon the fitness of applicants from the inclosure next below for reinstatement in theirs. For instance, the supposititious man banished successively from the first to the fourth may by hard work and good conduct be gradually reinstated by the commissions until he finds himself back in the first inclosure. And thence, only the Court of

Rehabilitation may release him into the outside world.

For first-degree murderers there would be a similar inclosure in which they would be confined for life. The Governor's pardoning power would be abolished so that a life term might be one in fact as well as in name. In short, no person who entered these portals would ever again be seen by the outside world. If, however, any one so confined should subsequently be shown to be innocent, then and then only should he be released. So far as the world at large was concerned a person entering these gates would pass out of existence as absolutely as if he had died. His friends and relatives would, however, have the satisfaction of knowing that he was not dead, but working out his lifelong penance in a manly manner. In no other respect would this community differ from the others. The inhabitants would have the same rights of self-government and the same necessity for self-support. They would, in short, be men and citizens instead of things called convicts. Their earnings would go, in large part, to their own famiilies and the fam-

ilies of their victims. This would be obligatory. For second-degree murderers there would be still another inclosure of like nature. These persons would, like all others, except the first-degree murderers, have the right of applying to the Court of Rehabilitation for release and reinstatement in society. In no other way could they secure their liberty. In considering their appeals the Court would naturally consider primarily the weaknesses of character which had led them to commit murder, and until or unless they showed every indication of having overcome those particular weaknesses they would not release them, no matter how exemplary their conduct and character in other respects. If, for instance, a person had committed murder in a paroxysm of anger, he would not be released until he had learned to control his temper, no matter in how many other ways he might have become a model citizen. In these communities for murderers they would deal with their own lawbreakers in the ordinary way. That is, they would have their own police, courts, and jails, just as have the Junior Republics. While there

would, of course, be separate inclosures for women, wives and mothers, sisters and daughters would, except in the case of the first-degree murderers, be allowed to visit their husbands and sons, brothers and fathers.

The inhabitants of these communities would be free to acquire by their labor any property except land. The land would all belong to the State. They could, however, lease tracts of land from the State for limited periods. They would be free also to sell their produce or manufactured articles in the outside world as well as among themselves, provided they did not sell below the prevailing market rates. It would, indeed, be difficult if not impossible for them to cut rates even without this prohibition, because they would be subject to the same competitive conditions of production as any outside workers instead of being given free board and lodging, plant and tools, as are convict laborers to-day. The labor unions could not justly resent such competition, as they now rightly oppose the unfair competition of convict contract labor, because, in the first place, it would not be

unfair competition; and, in the second place, it would not be convict labor, but that of men who would be none the less citizens because confined within certain boundaries.

Critics may say, what a fearful state of anarchy would there be in a community inhabited exclusively by lawbreakers! Were the conditions such as those in prisons this would undoubtedly be true. With a property basis there is no more likelihood of anarchy in such a community than in any other. If disturbances should break out, the authorities could call in police or troops from outside just as would the authorities of any town in similar trouble. Whatever their ethical standards, those possessing property inside the inclosure would have the same selfish motives for upholding law and order as have the property holders outside. A lawbreaker is just as quick to defend his person and his property as a person of the most exalted civic virtue.

By means of such communities society would be permanently protected against the permanently dangerous and temporarily protected against the temporarily dan-

gerous. At the same time the lawbreakers would be given the advantage of the greatest character-building agencies; namely, self-support and self-government. Consequently it is fair to assume that all those capable of reformation would ultimately be reformed. Of those incapable of reformation, society would be permanently rid. When a man is liberated from prison, it is commonly assumed that he is at least as bad if no worse than when he went in. Such being the case, it is naturally almost impossible for him to find employment. Unable to find honest work, he turns to dishonest, is arrested, and sent back to prison. And so the vicious circle continues until as an habitual criminal he is periodically ground in and out of prison for the rest of his existence. This process means for the State a maximum of expense and danger and for the criminal a maximum of misery.

Under the plan proposed, the lawbreaker would not only be reformed before being liberated, but he would have his certificate of reinstatement from the Court of Rehabiliation which would be almost a legal guaranty of his trustworthiness. While the old

LIVING ROOM, BOYS' COTTAGE

DINING ROOM, GIRLS' COTTAGE

prejudice would undoubtedly persist for some time, it is entirely conceivable that these certificates might eventually come to be of special advantage in securing employment. The employers would know that the holders had learned to be industrious, honest, and as efficient as their capacities permitted.

It is common knowledge that under present conditions many lawbreakers are never caught. Some one of repute in such matters has asserted that the proportion of the caught to the uncaught is as low as one in one hundred. However that may be, certainly many more lawbreakers elude the law than are caught in its toils. People know, when a man is sentenced to a prison term, that the chances are he will be ruined — ruined in purse, mind, body, and soul. Unless his crime is of a nature to arouse a fury of revenge few decent people are willing to aid the officers of the law in accomplishing his ruin. The average good-natured, kind-hearted citizen is much more apt to help the hunted fugitive from justice than his pursuers. Would not the average citizen feel very differently if he knew

that the lawbreaker when caught would be given every chance to develop the best there was in him; that he would be given every opportunity to mend his ways and return to society with higher aims and a strengthened character with which to follow them; that the door of Hope, instead of being shut in his face, would always stand open before him? Under such conditions the Law's representatives could reasonably count upon the coöperation of a large proportion of the respectable citizens who now wash their hands of what they regard as sordid and unpleasant business.

Mr. George proposes to try this scheme on a small scale with a few so-called criminals just as soon as opportunity offers, and to stake his reputation upon its outcome. It does not involve a single principle which has not already been successfully applied to similar problems with persons differing in age only. The plan could be experimentally tried by very gradually raising the age limit in a Junior Republic, and then little by little eliminating all citizens below twenty-one and all girls. With two thirds of the crimes in the United States com-

mitted by youths under twenty-four, we see that the criminal problem is, in any case, largely a problem of youth.

However, we need not rely entirely upon the analogy between these proposed communities and Junior Republics. Already have the principles involved been successfully tried to a considerable degree with adults. One of the most picturesque and convincing experiments which involved these principles occurred in the extreme northern part of the Chinese Empire during the years 1883 to 1886. Few people know that almost a generation ago there was a Republic in China — the first real Republic that ever existed on the continent of Asia. The rise and fall of this little Republic is described by George Kennan in the "Atlantic Monthly" for October, 1897. The story is briefly this: In 1883 a Tongus hunter discovered gold in a wild and lonely Manchurian valley. By the spring of the next year gold-seekers were pouring into the valley at the rate of one hundred and fifty a day. By the fall of 1884 there were, says Mr. Kennan, "at least three thousand miners; and a more

motley, heterogenous, and lawless horde of vagabonds and adventurers never invaded the Chinese Empire." In enumerating them he concludes, "and finally, more than one thousand escaped convicts — thieves, burglars, highwaymen, and murderers — from the silver-mines of Nerchinsk and the gold-mines of Kara."

Since this community was beyond the jurisdiction of Russia and unknown even to the nearest administrative centre in China, it had at first no government whatever. Naturally robbery, murder, and atrocities of every kind ran riot. The only law was the law of brute force. Finally, as Mr. Kennan says, "The logic of events had convinced both honest men and criminals that unless they secured life and property within the limits of the camp, they were all likely to starve to death in the course of the winter." Accordingly all the inhabitants met together in a "skhod," a Slavonic variety of the New England town-meeting, adopted a penal code and elected a committee of safety to govern the camp, enforce the law and act as the executive arm of the skhod. In this organization the

convicts took an active part and were as such represented on the committee. While this committee greatly promoted the prosperity and increased the population of the "Chinese California," it finally proved too weak to enforce law and order and was superseded by another and stronger government. The skhod called for the establishment of this stronger government, divided the territory into five districts, and then adopted a federal constitution based roughly upon the American Constitution. They provided for a President with large powers and a Council made up of two representatives from each district to act collectively in a legislative capacity and individually, within their own districts, in a judicial and executive capacity. For their President they unanimously elected the best-educated, most honest, and most widely respected man in the community. Every citizen signed the Constitution and took an oath of allegiance to the Government.

To continue to quote from Mr. Kennan's account:

"Before the first of February, 1885, the

triumph of the honest and law-abiding class in the Amur California was virtually complete. The petty crimes which had so long harassed and disquieted the camp became less and less frequent; the supremacy of the law was everywhere recognized with respect or fear; the experiment of popular self-government was admitted to be successful. . . .

"Intelligent and dispassionate Russians who had just come from the Amur California told me, when I met them at Chita, Nerchinsk, and Stretinsk, in 1885, that life and property were absolutely safer in the Chinese Republic than in any part of the Russian Empire. 'Why,' said one of them, 'you may leave a heap of merchandise unguarded all night in the streets; nobody will touch it!'"

In commenting upon the success of the experiment Mr. Kennan remarks, "Here was a population as heterogeneous, as uneducated, and as lawless as could be found anywhere in the Russian Empire. Nearly a third of it consisted of actual criminals, of the worst class, from the Siberian mines and penal settlements, and fully a quarter

of the non-criminal remainder were ignorant Asiatics, belonging to a half-dozen different tribes and nationalities."

This plucky and prosperous little Republic naturally enough was not allowed to live long by the autocratic governments of the two great empires which surrounded it. The Russian officials starved out the greater part of these self-governing "free adventurers" by cutting off their food supply, while the Chinese officials sent a regiment of cavalry who butchered those who remained, including the women and children and the sick in the hospital, and then burned the town.

Mr. Kennan cites this Chinese Republic as an example of the unsuspected self-governing ability of the Siberian people. We cite it as an example of the unsuspected self-governing ability of all peoples of whatever race, nationality, color, creed, class, or previous moral record.

At the instance of Governor-General Cameron Forbes, of the Philippine Islands, the Junior Republic principles — those underlying self-support and self-government — have to an appreciable extent

been introduced into the penal methods of the Islands. As a result of their application in the Iwahig Penal Colony on the Island of Palawan, a tract of three hundred and sixty square miles, the one thousand convict inhabitants are controlled by five American officers and eight native employees, themselves ex-convicts. Eighty per cent of these convicts were convicted of such crimes as brigandage, robbery, homicide, and murder. The colony has gradually become self-supporting. No firearms are permitted on the reservation, nor are there guards, jails, or prisons. Nevertheless all is as peaceful and orderly as in any well-regulated village.

But it is no longer necessary to go so far afield as Manchuria or the Philippines to find examples of convicts rising to the emergency when responsibility is placed upon them. The sheriff of a county in Vermont is allowing his prisoners to go out to work by the day on neighboring farms. They pay the county for board and lodging an amount equal to about two thirds of their wages. They go back and forth to their work without guard or anything to

distinguish them from ordinary workers. For them the jail is practically a boarding-house — a boarding-house where they are under supervision and which they may not leave until a certain time has elapsed.

In the States of Colorado, Oregon, and Washington, the more trustworthy of the convicts are allowed to live in unguarded camps while working on the roads. Before going into these camps they swear on their word of honor that they will not attempt to escape. In Colorado, where they have been tested longest, less than one per cent have violated their pledges by successful escape. They are rewarded for good work and trustworthiness by commutation of their sentences.

In Ohio and several other States, experiments of a somewhat similar nature are being tried. Whether these particular experiments succeed or fail, they nevertheless express an irresistible impulse of the times — an impulse which cannot itself fail because it expresses fundamental truths which have been making slow but constant headway against ignorance and selfishness

for the past two thousand years. This impulse is a dynamic force bound eventually to sweep aside the static forces which stand across its path.

CHAPTER XII

A SQUARE DEAL FOR DEMOCRACY

SOME people claim that democracy in America has failed; others that it has failed in spots, as, for instance, in the boss-ridden cities. Still others claim that it has not emerged from its experimental period; that the ultimate issue is still in the balance. But all these critics alike assume that it has, at any rate, been fully and fairly tried. Whether or not democracy in America has failed in whole or in part, we do not propose to discuss. We do contend, however, that the assumption that it has been fully and fairly tested is not warranted by the facts, and that until it has been so tested it is unfair to call it a failure either wholly or in part.

We maintain that it has not had a fair test, because never on any large scale has the youth of America been practically trained for the duties and privileges of democratic citizenship. The home, the

church, and the school are the traditional institutions for the training of citizens. In the earlier and more homogeneous days of the Republic, the home and the church performed relatively well their share of the work of fitting for citizenship the rising generations. Since the Civil War these two great agencies have become steadily and increasingly unequal to the task. As for the church, one need only compare the total population of the nation with the total church membership to see that, whatever its fitness for the task, the church now reaches, directly, at any rate, an insignificant proportion of the population. Whatever its potential ability, the church to-day no longer has even opportunity to exert a wide and vital influence upon the training of the rising generation.

As for the home, surely no one can be so fatuously sanguine as to claim that the immigrant home, whatever its willingness and good intentions, is equipped for the training of American citizens. A certain immigrant woman in New York City, the mother of a large family, was haled to court several times and fined for throwing

ashes out into the street. She could not speak or understand English and never learned for what she was fined, until finally the ash regulations were explained to her in her own tongue by a sympathetic neighbor. It appeared that in the little Roumanian village whence she had come, the chief magistrate had requested all the inhabitants to help in the road-making by throwing their ashes into the street. She had assumed that the Mayor of New York wanted her to do likewise.

The homes at the opposite pole, socially, are apt to be in their way, nearly if not fully as ill-equipped for the purpose. What Mr. Dooley has called "the homes of luxury and alimony" surely cannot be recommended. And even in the blue-blooded old families the training is sometimes little better than nothing. A prominent New Yorker of an aristocratic old family says that shortly before his twenty-first birthday he asked his father to tell him something about the government of the city and what would be expected of him when he became a voter. His father replied with a cynical smile, "My son, as a gentleman

and the son of a gentleman, all you need know about the government of your city is that you must bribe the ashman in order to get him to do his duty!" In short, there are to-day relatively few homes where the children receive from their parents such training as will fit them for assuming the responsibilities of democratic citizenship. Of necessity the great bulk of the burden is now thrown upon the schools and other institutions for the teaching and the care of the young.

Until the last decade practically all such schools and institutions were managed in an autocratic manner ill-designed to inculcate democratic ideals and habits of life. Even now relatively few are organized upon a really democratic basis, while the majority still remain petty monarchies in which the children are the subjects, with no part except to obey when they must, and evade when they can, autocratic authority arbitrarily imposed from above. One obvious stumbling-block in the spread of democratic training throughout the schools of the United States is the fact that the school systems themselves are highly auto-

cratic. Teachers who themselves have no voice in the affairs which most vitally concern them have an obvious if not a good excuse for declining to give the pupils a voice in the matters of daily concern to them. Curiously enough, our public schools, which are supported by our taxpayers and which should obviously be the fountain heads of democratic training, have been organized after the autocratic manner of our industrial world instead of after the democratic manner of our political institutions. The public-school teachers of America are beginning to rise in organized revolt against this autocratic system to which they have too long submitted. Let us hope that they will be sufficiently consistent not to deny to the pupils what they themselves demand!

It is our contention that not until all the agencies for the making or the remaking of citizens have been placed upon a democratic basis will Americans be adequately prepared to take their places as sovereign citizens of a free and self-governing country. The fullest possible opportunity for apprenticeship in citizenship should be

given before the full responsibilities of adult citizenship fall upon the individual. This apprenticeship may or may not pay particular regard to training in the forms and procedure of democratic government. Whether it does or not is a detail. On the other hand, it must regard the development of self-expression in each individual, together with the development of social expression in all the individuals. This is fundamental. Finally, all such agencies should conform to the great and greatly neglected truth that people, whether old or young, can only learn to do by doing; can only learn to live by living. These fundamental principles should be applied not only to all agencies for the training of children, — for the making of citizens, — but to all those likewise for the reformation of adults — for the remaking of citizens. Prisons such as now exist should ultimately be entirely abolished, and for them should be substituted reformatory republics.

When all schools and all other agencies for the training of children shall have been placed upon a democratic, upon a self-

governing basis, and when all institutions for the reformation of misfit adults shall have been placed upon a like basis, and when there shall have been established Junior Republics in every state of the Union, then, and not till then, will there be furnished training for democratic citizenship sufficiently vital and sufficiently widespread to provide a full and fair test for our democracy. Then and not till then may the critics of American democracy fairly pass judgment upon its failure or success. We believe that when this time comes there will be raised up a citizenship such as the world never before has seen. Those of us who believe in democracy should remember that upon its success or failure in America largely depends its success or failure throughout the world.

THE END

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